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states
well-paid and capable
teachers

a good
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in good
schools

a
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vestment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1946

Dear Mr. Kuenzli:

I am happy to send greetings to the American Federation of Teachers in annual convention at St. Paul, Minnesota, August 19-23, 1946.

You may be assured of my continued concern that this Nation should provide for every child an opportunity to secure a good education in good schools taught by well-paid, capable teachers. The Nation's children constitute its greatest wealth. Expenditures for education are a sound investment in the Nation's future.

In my Message to Congress on January 21, 1946, I recommended Federal grants for current educational expenditures for the purpose of improving the educational system where improvement is most needed. Legislation to assist in equalizing educational opportunities among and within the states was introduced in the 79th Congress, Second Session, but failed of Congressional action. I shall again recommend such legislation to the next session of Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

Mr. Irvin R. Kuenzli,
Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Teachers,
506 South Wabash Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.



NOVEMBER 1946

THE
AMERICAN
TEACHER



JOSEPH F. LANDIS

AMERICAN EDUCATION and THE A. F. T. PROGRAM

Excerpts from the convention address of President Joseph F. Landis

TWO years ago we met in convention in the midst of world wide war with victory a probability rather than a hope. Today we meet with that victory achieved, but achieved at how great a cost! Scientific advance has plunged us unprepared into the atomic age—an age in which mankind faces its own destruction unless we effect immediate world wide brotherhood of man.

In this hour the American Federation of Teachers addresses itself to the extension of the benefits of education to all American youth. We can not solve all of the world's problems. We can, however, channel and direct the vast force of the public school teachers of America toward the building of a better America by assuring to all American youth adequate educational opportunity for the welfare of America itself.

It has become popular in certain circles to deride and decry American public education and to point out it is seemingly lost in a maze of frills and foibles, neglecting fundamentals, to the detriment of American youth. This speaker does not subscribe to so pessimistic a philosophy. I submit that any public educational system capable of producing a generation of peace-loving youth who can make the immediate adjustment to the horrors of totalitarian warfare, who can meet and defeat the armed might of the most powerful militaristic nations this world has ever known, and who then can return and again made an immediate adjustment back to the ways of peace and peace-time economy need be apologized for by no American and is an educational system of which every American should be intensely proud. American education, my friends, has not failed, it has served and preserved here in America the liberties that free men prize.

Proud as we rightfully are in the contribution of American education in our period of national crisis, we may well consider the dangers now threatening the great institution that we serve. Evidence before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education a year ago indicated these facts:

5 million American youth not in school at all—youth of secondary school age or below.

10 thousand classrooms closed because teachers are not available.

280 thousand teachers deserting the profession to seek more remunerative employment—a number risen to 500 thousand for the war years, according to Dr. Benjamin Fine of the *New York Times*.

Teacher training institutions almost denuded of trainees for the teaching profession.

Harry Elder, registrar of Indiana State Teachers College, indicates 175 thousand emergency certificates were issued last year to teachers not meeting the minimum certification requirements of the states in which they serve.

Both Mr. Elder and also Dr. Williams, of the educational department of the University of Illinois, indicate that there is no foreseeable relief in teacher shortage for the next ten years at least.

What do these data mean? They mean that year after year millions of American youth, not an abstract youth, but perchance your boy or mine, will be doomed to grow up in complete ignorance, denied all educational opportunity or offered a smattering of training under teachers inadequately trained, ill prepared, and in large part incompetent to serve the educational needs of American youth. These youth, this lost generation, will become the tools of the crack-pots of the future who would destroy democracy itself.

(Continued on page 7)

October, 1946

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The American Teacher

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Democratic Spirit Pervades 29th AFT Convention

THE democratic spirit which the American Federation of Teachers seeks to exemplify was evident throughout the 29th AFT convention, held in St. Paul August 19-23. This spirit was demonstrated especially in the debate on several highly controversial issues, such as the principles to be supported in our federal aid program, and the question of affiliation with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

It was a *working* convention, with comparatively few outside speakers and wide participation by the delegates, not only in the work of the committees, but also in the spirited discussion from the floor.

Most of the delegates who spoke from the floor gave evidence of clear thinking, ability to express their convictions forcefully, respect for the opinions of others, and an earnest desire to find the best solution for the difficult problems considered. These qualities could be observed es-

pecially in the thorough discussion on the latest federal aid bill, the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, S. 2499, which was introduced in Congress on July 31, 1946.

The fundamental question was whether any federal aid whatever should be provided for non-public schools and, if so, how far such aid should extend. There was general agreement that *no* aid should be given to non-public schools for teachers' *salaries* or for *instructional* services, but there was a decided difference of opinion concerning whether non-public schools should receive any federal funds for such purposes as health services, libraries, textbooks, transportation, and buildings.

In the opinion of many of the delegates, the convention's decision on this question would be the most important step ever taken by any AFT convention.

On the afternoon of Monday, August 19, Dr.



FRANK FENTON
AFL Director of Organization

● MR. Fenton, who for many years has given unfailing support to the AFT, addressed convention delegates both at the opening session and at the banquet.

Floyd Reeves, chairman of the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction, devoted the major part of his report to an explanation of the urgent need for federal aid to education and of the various attempts to secure such aid. After analyzing carefully the provisions of the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, S. 2499, he expressed the hope that the convention would go on record in favor of adoption of federal aid legislation embodying the principles and program set forth in that bill. (See pages 12 to 19 for a report of the address made by Dr. Reeves.)

Federal Aid Principles Fully Discussed

Following his address there was a period for questions and discussion from the floor. Delegates from all parts of the country expressed their views freely and forcefully, but without bitterness and with respect for the honest convictions of others. Probably every important argument both for and against S. 2499 was presented.

Again on Tuesday afternoon attention was

focused on federal aid, when Miss Selma Borchardt, our Washington representative, gave her report, almost half of which dealt with the subject of federal aid. (See pages 27 to 32 for excerpts from her report.)

On Thursday afternoon the convention's legislation committee, to which the federal aid resolutions had been referred, presented its report. On twenty-six points the committee was unanimous in its recommendations concerning federal aid; on three it was divided. The committee's recommendations were discussed in detail during a large part of the afternoon, and the debate was continued in a special evening session.

The federal aid principles finally adopted by the convention were substantially those embodied in the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill. (For a complete statement of these principles see pages 36 and 37, where the action taken by the convention on the recommendations of the committee on legislation is reported.)

Urge Cooperation with Free Trade Unions Of Other Nations

That the delegates were not of the "rubber stamp" variety, but exercised independence of judgment, was clearly demonstrated, particularly when they voted against the recommendation of the convention's resolutions committee, that the AFT urge the AFL to join the World Federation of Trade Unions. After full discussion by many delegates, a roll call vote was taken on this subject, with the result that the following substitute for the committee's recommendation was adopted by a vote of approximately 2 to 1:

That the American Federation of Teachers, believing in the purpose of the united world trade union movement, ask the American Federation of Labor to seek to find a way through which to work with the free trade unions of the world.



THE EDUCATIONAL SECRETARIES UNION OF CHICAGO GIVES A RECEPTION FOR THE DELEGATES

The convention delegates expressed special interest also in AFT organization plans and in the problem of segregated locals.

Panel Discussions Interest Delegates

Among the high points in the convention program were the banquet, the panel on social implications of the atomic age, the intercultural relations luncheon, and the panel on accomplishments of locals.

Dr. Henry Stanton, atomic scientist in the metallurgical laboratories of the University of Chicago, was chairman of the panel on social implications of the atomic age. The other panel speakers were: Dr. Albert O. Nier, atomic scientist of the University of Minnesota; Dr. Lester Kirkendall, executive secretary of the American Association for Family Living, and research specialist for the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction; Leo Shapiro, consultant in intercultural education, Anti-Defamation League; and Meyer Halushka, labor editor for the AMERICAN TEACHER.

At the intercultural relations luncheon Miss Mary McGough, of the St. Paul Women's Local, presided and Mrs. Helen Parker Mudgett, director of field services of the Farmers' Educational Fund, acted as moderator. The panel members were: Leo Shapiro, consultant in intercultural education, Anti-Defamation League; Dr. James A. Cuneo, University of Minnesota; Walter N. Ridley, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia; Mrs. Ruth Tambara, Y.M.C.A., St. Paul; and Archie Phinney, superintendent of the Northern Idaho Indian Agency, Lapwai, Idaho.

● After hearing the stimulating address made by Mayor Humphrey at the convention banquet, delegates were prouder than ever that he is a member of AFT Local 444.



HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Mayor of Minneapolis

Sixteen Officers Elected

In the election, which took place on Wednesday evening, Joseph F. Landis was re-elected as president, and the following were elected as vice-presidents:

Carl Benson, 250, Toledo, O.
Selma Borchardt, 8, Washington, D. C.
John D. Connors, 2, New York, N. Y.
Ruth Dodds, 31, Sacramento, Cal.
John Eklund, 858, Denver, Colo.
Arthur Elder, 231, Detroit, Mich.
Irving Fullington, 563, Birmingham, Ala.
Meyer Halushka, 1, Chicago, Ill.
Lettisha Henderson, 28, St. Paul, Minn.
E. Robert Leach, 700, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Mary E. Moulton, 691, Kansas City, Mo.
Mrs. Natalie F. Ousley, 4, Gary, Ind.
Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, 2, New York, N. Y.
Gerald Y. Smith, 89, Atlanta, Ga.
Max Wales, 580, La Salle, Ill.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: The photograph on the left shows delegates depositing their ballots. The other shows Irving Fullington, Meyer Halushka, Joseph Landis, John Eklund, and Max Wales, all of whom except Mr. Landis are newly elected AFT vice-presidents.





**A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
IRISH NATIONAL TEACHERS
ORGANIZATION VISITS THE
A.F.T. CONVENTION.**

Lettisha Henderson, AFT vice-president from St. Paul; John D. Sheridan, of Dublin, Ireland; Michael J. McDonough, president of the St. Paul Federation of Men Teachers, Local 43.

To those members who served as committee chairmen during the convention special commendation should be given for their important contribution to the work of the convention. The committee chairmen were as follows:

Academic Freedom and Tenure, Ann Maloney, Gary, Ind.

Adult Education, Alice Drechsler, Minneapolis, Minn.

Child Care, Mary Cadigan, Boston, Mass.

Credentials, Ann Maloney, Gary, Ind.

Cultural Minorities, Layle Lane, New York, N. Y.

Education by New Media, Madeline Long, Minneapolis, Minn.

Educational Policies, Dorothy Weil, Chicago, Ill.

Insurance and Credit Unions, Frank Henke, Chicago, Ill.

International Relations, Irving Fullington, Birmingham, Ala.

Legislation, Mary Herrick, Chicago, Ill.

Nominations and Elections, Edward Sitzler, St. Paul, Minn.

Officers' Reports, Mary Casad, Springfield, O.

Organization, John Eklund, Denver, Colo.

Pensions and Retirement, James Fitzpatrick, Milwaukee, Wis.

Publicity and Public Relations, Harvey Portz, Springfield, O.

Publicity (convention), William Woolfson, New York, N. Y.

Resolutions, Mary McGough, St. Paul, Minn.

School Secretaries, Winnifred Higgins, Chicago, Ill.

Social and Economic Trends, Mary Mason Jones, Washington, D. C.

State Federations, George Wilson, Marion, O.

Taxation and School Finance, E. H. Rueter, Cleveland, O.

Vocational Education, Helen Campbell, Chicago, Ill.

Working Conditions, Margaret Root, Philadelphia, Pa.

New Executive Council Meets

Although the delegates worked hard and long throughout the week, it was impossible to consider all the committee reports before the convention adjourned. The unfinished business, therefore, was turned over to the new Executive Council for action.

A report of the work of the new Executive Council, which met on Friday evening, Saturday, and Sunday following the convention, will be published in the next issue of the **AMERICAN TEACHER**.

BECAUSE of the illness of the convention stenotypist, it has been impossible to obtain an exact statement of the resolutions and recommendations adopted during the latter part of the convention. It is possible, therefore, that in a few cases the wording of the resolutions and recommendations as published here may be slightly different from that actually adopted by the convention delegates.

The first issue published after we receive the stenotypist's report will include corrections of any serious errors, as well as a report of a few convention actions which had to be omitted in this issue either because of lack of space or because of uncertainty as to the wording:

American Education and the AFT Program

(Continued from page 2)

Denied their educational birthright, bitter against democracy for its failure to be truly democratic, these neglected and forgotten youth will turn to fascist, communist, or other non-democratic ideologies which seemingly offer them hope of a more satisfactory life. America, for her own preservation and for the preservation of democracy itself, must afford all her youth adequate educational opportunity, and I do mean all. Small wonder indeed that ex-Governor Edison of New Jersey recently stated in consideration of the data just given, "Nothing Japan had to offer was half as dangerous to America as are these facts."

Educational Opportunities Are Inadequate

In "The Myth of Educational Equality," *American Mercury* of January, Dr. Norton, of Teachers College, Columbia University, points out that of all American youth only

17% receive first rate education

58% receive average to poor education

25% receive grossly inadequate education

Shameful indeed to contemplate that one out of every four American youth receives inadequate education! Still more appalling is the fact that 58% or more than half receive average to poor training. I submit to you that American youth deserve better than average to poor education.

Teachers' Salaries Are Too Low

Data thus far considered indicate teacher shortage to be the primary cause of inadequate training of American youth. Dr. Bigelow in his recent report of the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education, points out that the average teacher's salary for 1946 was \$1800 per year, or about \$35 a week. In 1944, 200 thousand teachers received less than \$1200 and 25 thousand received less than \$600 per year. Senator Morse of Oregon asserts that all over America he hears the same complaint from teachers, "that the wolf is always at the door and it's always the wrong kind of wolf."

Proud we may well be of the position of the American Federation of Teachers which, from its birth until now, has steadily advocated and diligently striven for adequate pay for teachers

in every state and community in the nation. We believe that a workman is worthy of his hire. We render no mere lip service to our faith. California's last legislature established a minimum \$1800 salary for the teachers, through the efforts of the California Federation of Teachers and the labor movement of the state. In city after city locals of the American Federation of Teachers, aided by their central labor bodies, have secured elevation of schedules—Detroit, New York, Cleveland—their number is legion.

Increasing the salary of any given teacher will not per se make that teacher more competent. But there is no other way to retain present competent teachers nor attract to the profession competent additions unless salaries be elevated to amounts commensurate with the cost of adequate training and the social service rendered to the community.

We are not pleading selfishly merely for better pay for teachers. We plead for the youth of America and their needs. Only with adequately trained teachers in the classrooms can their needs be met. Attractive, adequate salaries alone can assure the presence of such teachers in the classrooms of the land.

We deal not with wood, stone, and iron. We deal with America's most precious resource—the intellectual growth of our youth. As an operator of a machine, you can put proper stock therein, make the proper adjustments and throw it into gear. Irrespective of your attitude, whether you are in good health or ill, happy or discouraged, that machine will produce efficiently. Put into any classroom in America a teacher distressed economically, worried, distraught, and the children in that class will suffer. They will not receive from that teacher the service to which they are entitled, for which he is paid, nor will the fault be wholly his. Teacher and pupil welfare are inseparable. We stand therefore for better pay for teachers, that better teachers may better serve American youth.

Oversized Classes Are a Menace

Inadequate salaries are not the sole cause of teacher dissatisfaction and desertion of the profession. Oversized classes are a growing menace. This speaker once was assigned an English class

of 89 border line morons and was expected to demonstrate that they could progress just as effectively as pupils in more normal-sized classes. This thesis remains unproved.

Dr. McCullough of Western Reserve University tersely phrases the problem when she inquires "how any Cleveland parent can enter a class of fifty or more pupils and then wonder why teacher cannot solve all of Johnnie's individual problems." Individual instruction and remedial help are impossible in over-sized classes.

Add the indignity of dismissal of married women, restriction of political rights as a condition of employment, "snoopervision," dictatorial, paternalistic, and autocratic procedures, and the causes of teacher shortage become self evident. Against all these deterrents, the American Federation of Teachers has fought and will continue to fight until the teachers of America enjoy emancipation and the dignity of true professional status.

General statistics oftentimes are meaningless. Permit, if you will, a few specific citations. Last school year in Indiana one teacher out of ten was inadequately trained. Next year in Ohio one out of each six will serve under emergency certification. Nationally, Dr. Fine indicates the number of below standard licenses will rise to one out of every eight teachers next school year.

How do our state departments of education, our company union teachers' organizations, propose to meet the teacher shortage? By reducing certification standards, thus flooding our schools with inadequately trained teachers? Our youth ask bread, our schools will offer them a stone. The AFT answers, "By adequate salaries, attract back to the profession competently trained teachers now employed in more remunerative fields, and thereby return competent instructors to our youth."

If the conditions just described persist we may stand today at the beginning of the disintegration and dissolution of American public education. Adequate financial support alone can guarantee to every American youth his educational birthright. To that end the American Federation of Teachers insists that there be more adequate financial support at all levels local, state and national. Restrictive legislation requiring more than majority vote for passage of school levies and bond issues must be repealed. The states must assume a larger responsibility of the education of the youth within their borders, so that the youth

in tax-poor districts may not be denied adequate training.

Need For Federal Aid Is Imperative

Today all national educational organizations agree that federal aid to education is imperative. The lost generation can be saved only by speedy enactment of an adequate federal aid to education bill. We may quibble over divisive problems of procedure, allocation, and control. While we do so, millions of our youth each year will continue to be denied adequate training to the detriment of their future and the future of America herself. For too many years Nero has fiddled while Rome has burned.

Our position on federal aid is the most important consideration before this convention. Its need is self-evident to us all.

Strong difference of opinion has arisen within the ranks on certain moot questions relating to federal aid. May I plead that we consider this problem with our minds, not our emotions, bearing in mind that if we fail to support federal legislation that has hope of enactment, we are dooming year after year the lost generation to darkness rather than light. In my own thinking, I see before me any benighted child of America holding out his hands and crying "Let me learn." Dare we fail any such youth? Dare we fail millions of such youth? Put yourself in the place of any such youth and see hope for light and learning disappear forever because of delay and your decision will be more speedily reached and is certain to be sound.

AFT Opposes Restrictive Provisions

The American Federation of Teachers opposes restrictive provisions requiring dismissal of married women teachers and lower pay for women teachers. We believe in equal pay for equal training and experience. We do not believe that competence is a matter of sex or marital status.

We oppose restriction of the rights of citizenship as a condition of employment. Teachers are expected to inspire our youth to live richly and fully in the life of their community—political, economic, social. How can we so inspire our youth if we, as teachers, are treated as political outcasts and are denied political rights enjoyed by other citizens? This speaker believes that restriction of the rights of citizenship as a condition of employment is unsound and not in the public interest, irrespective of the field of employment.

The American Federation of Teachers opposes the autocratic, totalitarian methods now typical of the administration of American public schools. In most systems the decisions on procedure and policy are made by one, two, or three persons to the benefit or harm of every child in the system and every teacher serving therein. I submit that when an administrator arrives at decisions on policy after free discussion by majority approval of his full teaching staff, he becomes more secure, because in times of criticism he brings to the defense of such a program the united support of his entire teaching staff. He no longer stands alone. When decisions in public education are so determined, there will be fewer mistakes made, the welfare of the youth will be better served, and democracy in education will be practiced, not preached.

America Can Afford Better Education

In this cursory summary of the more salient points of the program of the American Federation of Teachers, it becomes evident that increased educational financial support is imperative. To those who say that we can afford no increase in expenditure for education, we offer the evidence submitted by the Education Committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in 1944. This Committee, headed by Thomas C. Boushall, President of the Bank of Virginia, and consisting of bankers, businessmen, executives, and industrialists—hard-headed businessmen whose major concern in life is in material and not human values—as a result of nation-wide study of the relation between education and economic welfare states in *Education—An Investment in People*: "It is found that the average per capita retail sales in each group of districts diminishes progressively with the average educational level as we pass from the highest to the lowest." As the merchants profit by increased sales, the manufacturers likewise profit and labor, the producer of all goods, shares in the gains. Thus the level of income of the entire community rises as the educational level ascends.

The same Committee employed Dr. Clark of the Economics Department of Columbia University to study the larger nations to determine what correlation, if any, exists between the resources, the education, and the income of a nation. Dr. Clark discovered with no exceptions that every nation having high educational level has high income, without regard to its resources. He likewise learned that every nation

having low education and technical training invariably has low income, again without reference to its resources. Dr. Clark then states in *Education Steps Up Living Standards*: "In every nation having high income you will find that the people have a high level of education and great technical skill. Education is a causal factor insofar as income is concerned." Dr. Clark concludes his thesis with this pregnant statement: "The nation that is really daring in its use of research and greatly increases its provisions for education will rapidly increase its level of income. This is the only sure way for a rich nation to become richer and it is one we have scarcely started to develop in the United States."

AFT's Accomplishments Are Many

May we now turn to a few accomplishments of the past years of the American Federation of Teachers. We are not an organization lost in the abstractions of educational theory, but we are functioning in the improvement of specific conditions in the areas wherein we serve. Take the record of our small local in Wilmington, Delaware, only three years old. Two years ago, we took part in a panel discussion in that city on pension laws for teachers. At the conclusion of the meeting, a DuPont stooge arose and said, "Pensions for teachers in Delaware are exactly twenty years away." This past summer the legislature of Delaware enacted a sound pension act for its teachers.

Also in Delaware a vicious merit rating law was enacted making financial advancement and promotion subject to the efficiency rating of administrators. I submit to you that the American Federation of Teachers does not oppose efficiency or merit. We believe in them. But I also submit that no objective standard has yet been devised whereby any given group of administrators would rate any given teacher the same on efficiency and merit. Until such objectivity be attained, any merit or efficiency rating proposal means that a teacher must curry favor with his administrator or suffer financial loss. We do not believe this to be in the public interest.

To show what can be done, even though Delaware enacted such legislation, our Wilmington local, because of the confidence and good will it has established in its community, was able to go before its Board of Education, aided by the central labor body of Wilmington, and convince them of the inequity and injurious effects

of the application of such provisions. As a result, the Board of Education of Wilmington mandated its superintendent to rate every Wilmington teacher a superior teacher and grant to each of them the maximum annual increase contemplated under the law.

The Pennsylvania legislature considered a merit rating act last year. Solely through the efforts of the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers and the effective support of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, this act failed of passage.

In Ohio the Governor vetoed at the last regular session a much needed increased state aid proposal. To the credit of our legislature, the Senate over-rode the Governor's veto as soon as it convened the next morning and the House over-rode it the following day. This was accomplished because all of organized labor in Ohio interested itself in a matter so vitally affecting the welfare of Ohio youth.

One notable incident stands out in last year's achievements. In Washington, D. C., a pay raise bill for teachers was introduced in the House and sold to the civic bodies of the community on the theory that it would increase salaries of teachers, who had had no salary increase since 1920. The community was really stirred and enthusiastic in its belief that something was about to be done for the teachers of that city. This bill was prepared by the business representative of the Board of Education, assisted by a vocational school principal who had four teachers in her building. The gentleman increased his salary \$2500 for the past school year and granted himself a total increase of 70 per cent effective in full in four years. The lady modestly assured herself an immediate \$1,000 increase and a total increase of 40 per cent effective in full in four years. All administrators were granted huge increases, both immediate and extending over a four-year period. In fairness, however, it must be said that these increases were not out of accord with salaries paid to administrators in cities of like size, with the two exceptions just cited.

Now we come to the heart of the matter. No teacher in Washington was granted a single cent of increase for the ensuing school year. However, they were granted a slow elevation of schedule extending over a thirteen-year period. No immediate increase for teachers—not one cent for the next school year. Every administrator granted a huge increase. This was the pay raise bill for teachers officially supported

by our friends of the NEA before the House hearings. The only organizations that opposed this iniquitous proposal were the Washington locals of the AFT, supported by the labor movement of Washington.

At the hearings it developed that the bill contained this interesting clause: "A teacher may voluntarily be reduced from a higher to a lower status on the salary schedule." We asked the House committee what that clause meant. Did it mean that a teacher might voluntarily ask for a reduction of salary? If so, no statutory enactment was necessary. Or did it mean what it really meant—that the school board could reduce a teacher's salary voluntarily at any time, thus destroying the stability of the entire salary schedule. The bill destroyed teacher tenure established under the expiring act. Solely due to the efforts of the two locals of the American Federation of Teachers in that city—even the unfriendly anti-labor press of Washington credited the AFT with obtaining these gains for the teachers of that city—statutory protection of tenure was definitely written into the act and the voluntary reduction of salary clause disappeared therefrom, and each teacher was granted a \$100 increase for the ensuing school year.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have endeavored to present to you the problems now confronting American Education. I now call upon you in committee deliberations to strive for their solution in the hope of assuring to every American youth full and adequate educational opportunity. May our decisions be guided by the practical and attainable, and not be lost in the vacuum of educational theory. Your organization is a militant, vigorous, efficient organization which has increasingly served in the solution of local, state and national educational problems. May we grow in influence and power through the soundness of our decisions for the betterment of the youth of America.

To those who ask why teachers should affiliate with the organized labor movement, I cite the greetings of Dr. Albert Einstein to a white collar workers C.I.O. convention held in Cleveland last winter. Dr. Einstein said: "As long as intellectual workers are not organized in trade unions the individual remains so completely dependent on his employer that he will not be able to defend successfully any moral responsibilities or the basic principles which his profession recognizes."

Before closing, may I pay my tribute to the great organized labor movement of America of which we are a part. As I see it, the greatest Teacher this world ever knew first fed the hungry, clothed the needy, and ministered to the sick—after that he ministered to the soul. With all of its mistakes—and all human institutions make them—but with all of its mistakes, the organized labor movement of America is trying to do the primary job of the great Teacher: to feed the hungry, clothe the needy, and build here and now in America a richer, brighter, happier, more prosperous land in which we and our children may dwell. And I, for one, am proud to be a part, however small, in an organization that has that as its primary objective.

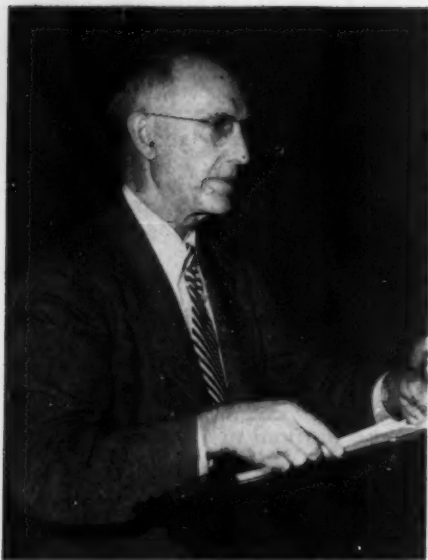
I close with the last sentence of an address of

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor in reply to Commander Atherton of the American Legion at Boston some three years ago. The Commander was rather bitter in his indictment of American labor during the early war years. President Green, in the greatest address I have ever been privileged to hear, concluded a masterful defense of labor with this sentence: "And so, Mr. Commander, in this imperfect world made up of imperfect men, we will continue to do the best we can with what we have for the good of all." And I say to you in that spirit, ladies and gentlemen, that we of the American Federation of Teachers in this imperfect world will continue to do the best we can with what we have for the good of every American child.



Above: THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

Below: THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE



DR. FLOYD REEVES

I SHALL report today on two years of work of your Commission on Educational Reconstruction, devoting most of my time to the problem that has been of greatest concern to the Commission—the problem of federal aid to education. Before I discuss federal aid to education, however, I shall comment briefly on two other aspects of the work of the Commission.

The Commission is now engaged in the preparation of a general over-all report on the status of education in our schools and on actions that we think should be taken by teachers and others to improve the present situation. This report is not to take the form of a research document, although it is based upon a wide examination of the findings of research conducted by many individuals and agencies. Its major purpose is to serve as a statement of what the Commission believes to be sound educational policy.

The general report of the Commission now in preparation was first outlined at a meeting of the Commission held in Washington early this year. Following this meeting, a first draft of the report was prepared by Dr. Lester A. Kirkendall, Director of the Association for Family Living. This draft was submitted to all of the Commission members for their criticisms and suggestions. The report was then rewritten by Dr. Kirkendall to incorporate the suggestions received. I have some hope that before many

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months have passed, the Commission will have a report on educational policy that will be worthy of publication and of wide distribution. This report should be valuable not only to the membership of the Federation, but also to teachers who are not members and to students in college and university classes in which future teachers are being educated.

In the early days of the work of the Commission, the problem of a peace-time program of compulsory military training was before the Congress of the United States for discussion and possible action. We gave careful consideration to all aspects of this problem and finally reached the conclusion that the passage of an act providing for universal compulsory military service in time of peace might be a serious mistake. In any case, it did not seem to us advisable for such legislation to be enacted at the very time when plans were under way to organize the United Nations. We recommended, therefore, that no action be taken at that time. A copy of our recommendation was sent to the President of the United States. Other copies were released to the press and received wide publicity. In the months that have elapsed since we made our recommendation, I have become convinced that the decision we reached was a wise one. Later, the Congress reached the same decision.

The AFT Commission was the first responsible educational group in the nation to take a definite stand against hasty, ill-considered legislation in the field of universal compulsory military training. This policy was adopted a short time later by the American Federation of Labor and subsequently by many educational, church, and social groups in the nation. The AFT definitely set the pace in opposition to ill-advised legislation in this vital field.

Dr. Floyd Reeves Analyze

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Work of the AFT Commission

On Educational Reconstruction

I now turn to a discussion of federal aid to education and of the actions of the Commission with regard to that problem.

In 1938, after two years of study of the schools of our nation, President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education published the first comprehensive report ever made on education in the United States. This report showed that great inequalities existed among the forty-eight states in both the quality and the scope of the educational opportunities provided for children, youth, and adults. Furthermore, the report showed that these inequalities were not due to a lack of effort to provide good schools. They resulted from inequalities among the states in their ability to support education. Some of the Committee's findings were so startling in their nature that they called for immediate action to improve the situation.

The Advisory Committee on Education found that although this country had a considerable number of the best public schools in the world, it also had far more than its share of very poor schools. The least satisfactory schools were in the rural areas. There, the ability to support education in terms of income was low, whereas the number of children to be educated was large. As a result of having many children and low income per child, those states that were largely rural could raise, through taxation, a relatively small amount of money for the support of the schools, even though their efforts to raise money were much greater than the efforts made by states that were largely urban.

The President's Committee reported that in most states both rural and urban schools were deficient in many of the facilities needed for a satisfactory education program. Physical plants were poor, teachers' salaries were low, many

teachers were poorly trained, school libraries were inadequate, needed educational supplies and equipment were not available and only one out of eight of the children who were handicapped to an extent that required special educational facilities was provided with such facilities. Health instruction in many areas was either poor or entirely lacking. Furthermore, hundreds of communities had no schools of any kind except for pupils in the elementary grades.

In a nation founded upon the principle of equality of opportunity for all persons, the inequalities discovered by the President's Advisory Committee on Education were truly alarming. Whereas three states spent less than \$30 per pupil, three others spent four times that amount. The average salary of teachers was less than \$600 in some states, although it was more than \$1,800 in others. School terms were less than 140 days in some states, although they were more than 180 in others.

The educational load was distributed very unequally among the states. The productive workers of the Southeast carried a burden of child care and education 80 per cent greater than that carried by the similar age group of adults in the Far West. The ability of the states to support schools varied inversely with the proportion of children in their population. Twenty per cent of the children of school age lived in states where, with average effort, more than \$75 per child could have been provided for education; whereas another 20 per cent lived in states where less than \$25 per child could have been provided with average effort.

Three and one-half years after the publication of the report of the Advisory Committee on Education, the American Youth Commission, a non-governmental agency, published its basic

New Bill for Federal Aid

report, *Youth and the Future*. The findings of the American Youth Commission, following the most exhaustive study ever made of the care and education of American youth, provided many new facts to enforce the findings of the Advisory Committee on Education.

The summer of 1943, the National Resources Planning Board, in its final annual report, *National Resources Development Report for 1943*, included a chapter entitled "Equal Access to Education." The facts presented in that chapter not only bore out the findings of the two earlier studies, but also indicated that the situation might actually have become more critical with the passage of time.

Few educational reports have ever been so widely publicized. "Equal Access to Education" was published in full in a number of bulletins, newspapers, and journals, including the *New York Times* and the *American Teacher*. The fifteen specific recommendations of that report are as pertinent today as they were when written three years ago.

S. 717 Provided Comprehensive Program

Until this summer, the only bill ever introduced into Congress that included provisions designed to meet, at least in part, some of the most important of the educational needs of children, youth, and adults was S. 717, introduced last year by Senators Mead and Aiken and sponsored by the American Federation of Labor. You have all had an opportunity to know what I think of that bill, in view of the fact that the American Federation of Teachers published, under the title, *Basic Principles of Federal Aid to Education*, excerpts from my testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

In testifying before that committee, in my capacity as chairman of your commission, I pointed out why I thought S. 717, the AFL bill, was the best federal aid bill that had yet been introduced in the Congress. It provided \$300,000,000 annually to assist the states in financing their school programs, with all of this amount distributed on the basis of need; it provided \$100,000,000 for non-instructional services to children to enable them to secure benefits from the instructional facilities made available; and it provided \$150,000,000 for scholarships and other aids to needy students to enable them to attend school. No bill for aid to general education ever introduced prior to the introduction

of the AFL bill included all three of these major purposes: aid for instructional facilities, aid for services to children, and aid in the form of scholarships for needy students.

The need for aid to students, as well as aid to schools, has been dramatized by the veterans' program. The veterans who are now flocking into our colleges by the hundreds of thousands show clearly the desire of youth to secure the advantages of an education. Many of these veterans, possibly as many as one-half of the total number enrolled in colleges and universities, could never have gone to college had there been no war, no veterans, and no veterans' benefits.

Prior to the war, more than half of the youth leaving high school and college without completing their education dropped out of school when they did because they could not afford to continue longer in school. These youth needed more to remain in school or college than merely free school facilities. A majority of them were members of families in relatively low income groups. Two-thirds of the out-of-school youth whose fathers were unskilled laborers, and almost 7 out of 8 of those whose fathers were farm laborers, did not attend school beyond the eighth grade. They could not have continued school without either scholarships or some other form of financial aid. They had no funds of their own with which to purchase clothing and other personal items that are essential to school attendance. One of the most important provisions of the AFL bill was its authorization of \$150,000,000 for aid to needy students.

New Bill Even Broader in Scope

The AFL bill was the most comprehensive bill for federal aid to education ever introduced into the Congress prior to this summer. But even that bill was not broad enough in its scope to meet all of the important educational needs of the nation. At last, however, there is such a bill. I refer to S. 2499, *The Education Development Act of 1947*. This bill was introduced on July 31 of this year by Senator James E. Murray of Montana, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, for himself, for Senator Morse of Oregon, and for Senator Pepper of Florida.

The nature and purpose of the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill was set forth by Senator Murray in a press release upon filing the bill on Wednesday, July 31, 1946. Senator Murray said in part:

Senator Murray Explains Purpose of New Bill

"A new and bolder approach with respect to federal aid to education seems to be in order. We need a program based upon the recognition that an expanded educational system is a prerequisite to a sound and intelligent electorate and to the creation of any economy of full employment and full production. We need a program so broad and so challenging that it will inspire the united support of all groups who are truly interested in raising American educational standards for all our citizens and improving the general social and economic life of our country.

"In the past, we have studied the problem of federal aid to education on a piecemeal basis. The Educational Development Bill, on the other hand, approaches the problem as a whole. This bill deals with four types of federal aid:

- "(1) general equalization of educational opportunities;
- "(2) scholarships and fellowships;
- "(3) planning and construction of school buildings; and
- "(4) camping programs.

"The bill assumes that the Federal government must finance an important share of the needed improvement, but it does not propose to let the states sit back while the federal government takes over their job. Laggard states must make more effort than they have in the past. All states must continue to do their share. Funds are to be distributed among the states not merely on the basis of population, but also in accordance with the financial need of each state.

"The bill also sets forth certain standards which the states are expected to meet in order to qualify for federal aid.

"The bill has been introduced at this time mainly for the purpose of stimulating study and constructive discussion during the coming five months. Many important details still remain to be worked out. Many controversial issues are still to be resolved.

"It is my hope to have a redrafted bill ready for introduction at the beginning of the next Congress. With such a bill as a basis for study, it seems to me that the Education and Labor Committee might then well undertake a comprehensive review of the entire educational situation."

The Educational Development Act, introduced

by Senator Murray, provides for a ten-year program of federal aid to education. Its purpose is to provide "equality of opportunity to all without regard to sex, race, color, or creed." It recognizes that education is a state responsibility, and that the role of the federal government is to aid the states and to stimulate them to discharge their responsibilities.

Provisions of Bill Summarized

Title I of the bill authorizes funds for pre-elementary education, for elementary education, for secondary education including non-collegiate vocational education, for higher education, for adult education and community recreation, for special education of physically handicapped children and youth, for health and physical education, and for public library services, especially in rural areas. The amount authorized for these purposes increases from one-half billion dollars in the fiscal year 1948 to one billion dollars ten years later. Funds are to be distributed among the states on the basis of financial need. The poorer states may receive as much as \$40 per child, whereas the richer states may receive as little as \$10 per child. These funds are to be used primarily to supplement, rather than take the place of state funds for education.

Title II of the bill authorizes funds for scholarships and fellowships for students in the upper two years of high school and in colleges and universities. These funds are to aid students of ability without reference to race, color, sex or religion. The funds authorized for this purpose are to increase from 70 million dollars in 1948 to 350 million dollars ten years later. These funds at maximum will finance 250,000 high school students, 400,000 college students, and 70,000 students engaged in post-graduate or professional study. The funds are to be distributed to the states on the basis of the number of persons sixteen to twenty-four years of age, inclusive.

Title III authorizes the sum of 200 million dollars, increasing to 400 million dollars by the third year, to aid the states in studying the needs for educational plant facilities, preparing drawings and specifications for such buildings, and acquiring, constructing, or improving such facilities. The federal funds must be matched by state funds, with the poorest states providing \$1 for every \$3 of federal funds and the richest states providing \$2 for every \$1 of federal funds.

Title IV authorizes funds for camping programs for children and youth in public parks and forests, beginning with 25 million dollars the first year and increasing to 125 million dollars ten years later. These funds are to be distributed to the states on the basis of the number of urban children six to sixteen years of age, inclusive.

Titles V and VI provide for the administration of the Act. No federal agency or official is permitted to exercise any control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction. The United States Commissioner of Education administers the federal aid provisions of the Act, and he is authorized to receive an appropriation beginning at 10 million dollars and increasing to 25 million dollars for educational research. A National Advisory Council is to be appointed by the President to consult with the Commissioner on all matters of major policy. Standards are to be established relating to the administration of the funds, state audits, and the availability of the funds to all state-approved educational agencies needing assistance.

Standards to Be Raised Step by Step

It is recognized that the raising of standards has to be on a step by step basis. The following goals are set for the period after the program has been in operation for 3 years: (1) public school teachers to be paid no less than \$1500 a year; (2) a plan to be in effect aiming at equal educational opportunities in farm areas within 5 years; (3) a plan to be in effect aiming at equal educational opportunities for all racial groups within 5 years; (4) employment of teachers on a merit basis; (5) school buildings and other equipment to be safe and sanitary; (6) books to be provided without charge; (7) non-instructional public services to be available to children in all schools, both public and non-public; (8) compulsory school year of no less than 180 days a year for children from 6 to 16 years of age; (9) a 10-year program for the improvement of educational services throughout the state to be "actively and progressively under development."

The following goals are set for the period after the program has been in operation for 8 years: (1) public school teachers to be paid no less than \$2,000 a year; (2) equal educational opportunities in farm and city areas, and (3) equal educational opportunities for all racial groups.

A National Board of Appeals, composed of three members and appointed by the U.S. Supreme Court could be established if this bill is passed, and any state could win an exception to the standards set in the bill by carrying a successful appeal to this board.

The total of the authorizations provided in the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill amounts to 805 million dollars in 1948 and 1 billion 900 million dollars ten years later. This amount is somewhat less than that suggested by the National Resources Planning Board. Nevertheless, it is almost eight times the amount authorized in the Hill-Thomas-Taft Bill, S. 181, now supported by the NEA; and it is more than three times as large as the amount authorized in the bill, S. 717, sponsored by the AFL last year.

Amount Asked for Is Conservative

Federal aid amounting to almost two billion dollars annually will undoubtedly seem large to many laymen who know little about educational needs. For this situation, educators must share a large part of the responsibility. We have all spent so much time and energy in advocating federal aid programs of 200 or 250 or 300 million dollars that we have lost sight of the magnitude of the real needs of schools and of children. I hope that we will no longer be content to ask for one-tenth of what this nation needs in the way of federal aid to education. The time has arrived when we should stop talking about such small amounts. The future of America's children and youth is at stake, and with it, the future of this nation and of all that it stands for. The children and youth of America deserve a better education than can be provided with two or three hundred million dollars from the federal government. We all know that this is true. Then let us all fight for the rights of the children, and in so doing, protect the welfare of this nation. The authorizations of the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill are actually conservative in terms of educational needs. They are likewise conservative in terms of the nation's ability to pay for the program provided.

As Senator Murray said in his statement made at the time he introduced his bill: "Many controversial issues are still to be resolved." I assume that the major issue he had in mind may well have been that of providing aid to non-public schools.

The Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill is a compromise measure. Whereas it prohibits federal aid

to non-public schools for "instructional services," which constitute possibly 75 to 80 per cent of total current educational expenditures, it does make federal aid available to non-public schools for non-instructional purposes, which constitute not more than 20 or 25 per cent of current educational expenditures. A bill of this type can, I believe, be passed. I doubt, however, that any bill that does not provide aid for services to children in non-public schools can be passed at any time in the near future, if ever.

The passage of the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill would remake education in many parts of this nation. For the first time in our history, all children, youth, and adults would have an opportunity to receive a decent education. From the standpoint of securing the passage of this legislation, I am convinced that the most important issue to be faced centers around the problem of providing aid to non-public schools for non-instructional purposes. For that reason, I shall now comment at some length upon this matter.

Question of Aid to Non-public Schools Is Most Important Issue

The question of whether federal funds should be given to parochial and other privately controlled, non-tax supported schools has been for many years the major obstacle to securing federal aid to education. In a general way, the traditional position of the Catholic Church has been in opposition to the use of federal funds for public schools alone, although it has been somewhat divided as to the desirability of federal aid if both public and non-public schools were to be included. Recently, however, the National Catholic Welfare Conference has supported federal aid to public schools with the proviso that some federal aid at the same time should be made available to non-public schools.

Many Catholic leaders contend that federal aid to public schools alone would impose an unjust financial burden on Catholic citizens. They point out that in communities where the Catholic Church maintains a school, the patrons must pay for its maintenance. In addition, they are taxed to support public schools. With federal aid to public schools alone, their burden of supporting public schools would be increased through increased federal taxes.

The Congress of the United States in recent years has tended to grant federal funds to both non-public and public education. Under the

educational provisions of the National Youth Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the W.P.A., federal funds were made available directly to assist non-public schools or to aid youth attending such schools. Throughout the period of the war, large funds were made available to non-public institutions for the support of training programs for workers in war industries and members of the armed forces.

Under the Lanham Act, funds were made available to non-public schools for providing educational service in areas congested by war industries. Under the GI Bill of Rights, federal funds are made available directly to non-public schools for providing educational services for veterans of World War II.

The school lunch program applies alike to children in public and non-public schools. A school lunch program for children in public schools only could never have received the support of the Congress.

The fact that all of these programs that I have mentioned have made federal funds available to non-public schools, or aid to youth in such schools, has now rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible, the enactment of any general bill for federal aid to education that does not give some recognition to the needs of non-public schools and of the children attending them. It should be noted, furthermore, that general federal aid bills of recent years have all included some provision for aid to privately controlled, non-tax supported schools under certain conditions. For example, the National Education Association, which has struggled for nearly a decade to enact a federal aid bill, now sponsors S. 181 in a new form which provides specifically that the states shall decide which schools shall be declared public schools. Whether non-tax supported schools would share in the distribution of federal funds would depend entirely upon the decision of the states if the NEA sponsored bill should be passed. If this bill should become law, federal funds would be used in at least fourteen states for services to children attending privately controlled non-tax supported schools.

Early this year, the NEA sponsored bill, S. 181, was completely redrafted into an entirely new and different federal aid bill. This bill, in its present form, provides strong guarantees to the states with relation to their rights to distribute funds to non-tax supported schools. Any state that defines a parochial or other privately controlled, non-tax supported school as a public

school because it renders a public service *must* distribute federal funds to that school in the same manner as to any other schools. Furthermore, the federal funds so distributed may be used to pay teachers' salaries as well as for other purposes.

It is not possible for me to report to this convention any action taken by your Commission on Educational Reconstruction on either S. 2499, the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, or S. 181, the present Hill-Thomas-Taft Bill sponsored by the NEA because the Commission has had no opportunity to pass judgment upon either of these new bills. Nevertheless, I can comment upon the relationship between these bills and the principles agreed to by the Commission.

The NEA sponsored bill, in its present form, is a better bill than it was in its original form. This is true because it now provides that all funds appropriated to the states be allocated on the basis of need. This bill, however, with its authorizations for appropriations beginning at 150 million dollars and reaching a maximum of only 250 million dollars, is entirely inadequate to serve the purpose for which it is intended—that of raising the level of education to a decent standard in the poorer communities and states. Furthermore, this bill not only makes no provision for increasing teachers' salaries to a satisfactory level, but it does not provide enough aid to make it possible for most states to pay teachers a living wage. Moreover, it provides no funds at all for aid to students, no funds for special services to children and no funds for needed school buildings.

The Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, on the other hand, does authorize funds for aid to colleges and universities, as well as to schools for aid to students; for aid for services to children, including camping programs; and for aid for school buildings. It provides aid for *non-instructional* services to children in non-publicly controlled schools, but it *prohibits* such aid for *instructional* services in such schools. It sets as minimum salary goals for public school teachers, \$1500 a year three years after the beginning of the program. The total amount of the funds the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill authorizes is almost *eight* times as large as the total amount authorized by the Hill-Thomas-Taft Bill.

Speaking for myself and not for the Commission on Educational Reconstruction, since the Commission has had no opportunity to pass upon

the specific provisions of the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, I hope very much that this Convention will go on record in favor of the adoption of federal aid legislation embodying the principles and program set forth in S.2499, the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill.

I hope, furthermore, that any action that you may take will be broad enough to permit those handling legislative matters for you between Convention meetings to support any modifications and adjustments in the program provided in this bill which may be necessary to secure legislation and which do not violate the principles set forth in the bill.

Need for Aid Now Greater Than Ever

Never has there been a time when federal aid for education was so badly needed as it is today. We must not let the children down through our failure to agree upon a wise program of action. We should permit nothing to stand in the way of securing legislation that would make possible the achievement in the field of education of America's dream—equality of opportunity for all children, youth and adults, without regard to race, color, or creed.

S. 181 Is Inadequate

I have heard it said that half a loaf is better than none. Is an eighth of a loaf better than none also? I think so, if one is hungry. Education is hungry. It needs more financial nourishment. It needs a program of aid such as that provided in the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, but an eighth of a loaf of bread is better than none to a hungry person. The Hill-Thomas-Taft Bill, S. 181, is like an eighth of a loaf of good bread. It is good as far as it goes, but it is not enough.

If I were a very hungry man, so hungry that I needed an entire loaf of bread I would try to secure an entire loaf of bread, but if I could not get an entire loaf, I would not reject half a loaf, or one-fourth of a loaf. In fact, I would accept one-eighth of a loaf if that were all I could get. I would accept the Hill-Thomas-Taft bill as better than no aid at all. It is like one-eighth of a loaf of good bread. It rates high in quality, but it falls short in quantity. Education needs much more aid than it provides.

Ten years ago this month, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the friend of labor and the friend of mankind, honored me by asking me to serve as Chairman of his Advisory Committee on Education.

Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill Is Sound In Principle

Our Committee, after its extensive study, concluded that federal aid provided the only way whereby millions of children could receive an education. For a decade I have worked on this problem. It has been my major interest. The need of federal aid is greater today than it was ten years ago. Fortunately, for the first time Congress has before it a bill that will, if passed, actually meet the needs of education. I believe that the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill is sound in principle. I believe that it is an honest bill and one that is fair to all concerned. I believe that it can be passed if educators will support it. When I consider the welfare of America's children and the safety of this nation in a world torn by hate and fear, I for one could not bring myself to oppose this bill even though it contained many provisions that I did not like.

Fortunately for my peace of mind, however, I believe in the most important provisions of

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the bill. I am for the bill because I believe that it is the best bill that has ever been drafted, and that it is the only bill now before the Congress that really meets the needs of this nation.



Above: COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL MINORITIES

Below: COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION



● The Educational Policies Committee Meeting in the offices of the St. Paul Women Teachers Federation

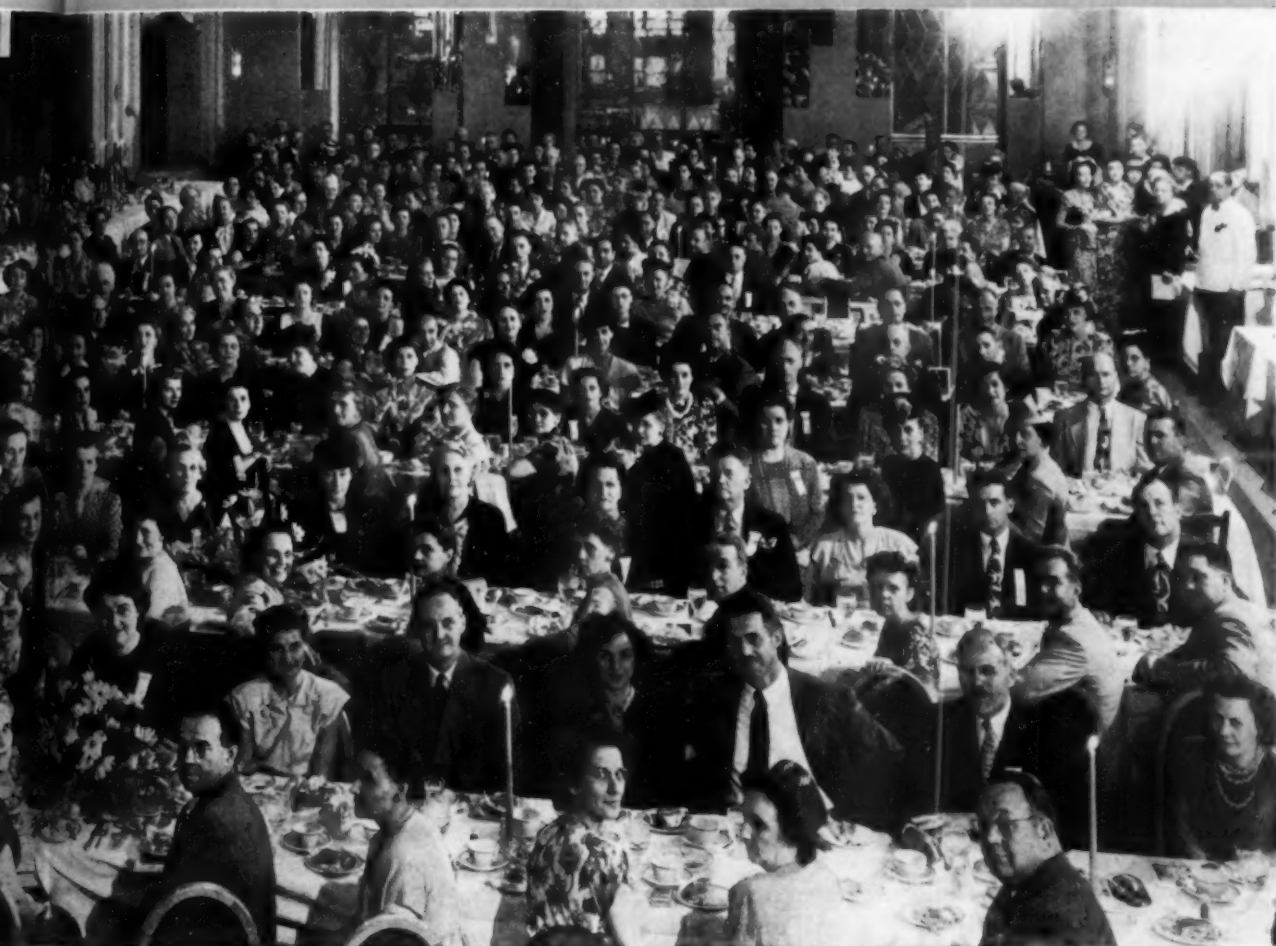
● The banquet, one of the high





● The Committee on Organization conferring with M. O. Hawbaker, AFT Field Representative

of the high points of the convention



The Union in Action in 1946

Excerpts from the convention address of
Secretary-Treasurer Irvin R. Kuenzli



WE HAVE met here at St. Paul in our first postwar convention following World War II. We are happy and thankful that the fighting phases of the war are over and that it is again possible for us to meet to consider our mutual professional problems and to make plans for the welfare of children and teachers. In a sense this convention, per se, is a symbol of victory for freedom and democracy. Had Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito won the war there would have been no more AFT conventions. Teachers' unions and Fascism do not exist in the same country.

Now that World War II has been won, it is time for World War III—an all-out war against ignorance, poverty, disease and intolerance. If we fail to prosecute a World War III of this type, so that men may live more abundant lives free from starvation, persecution and slavery, we shall not have attained a complete victory in World War II.

We are here, then, facing the profound challenge of the future. Reports of past achievements are relatively of little value except for the extent to which they create a foundation for solving the problems of the future. Laurels of the past are of little value except to the extent that they give us confidence, inspiration, and strength for future attainments.

AFT Gains in Strength and Numbers

It is a genuine pleasure and satisfaction to report that the AFT is now in a far stronger position than at any time in its history to fight the battles of American education. The difficulties and handicaps encountered during the period of World War II have greatly strengthened the organization rather than weakened it. During the last decade the AFT, backed by the millions of members in the AFL, has emerged as one of the most significant influences in American education. The past year has been by far the greatest era of progress in AFT history.

Despite the heavy losses to the armed forces and to the war industries we have had a *net gain of nearly 13,000 members* since the beginning of the war in 1941. This figure represents a net gain of approximately 58% since Pearl

Harbor.

Following World War I, non-union teachers' organizations joined in the general postwar drive against organized labor and initiated a nationwide drive to crush the AFT. That drive was eminently successful and within a few months two-thirds of the membership of the national organization was wiped out. Many years were required to recover from that crushing blow which might have been fatal had it not been for the indomitable fighting spirit of the leaders in the AFT at that time.

Today another nation-wide drive—largely an underground campaign—has been initiated by non-union teachers' organizations against the AFT. Our progress has alarmed the leaders of independent teachers' organizations which are financed largely by the dues of classroom teachers but controlled by administrators. The record of the past year, however, seems to indicate that the AFT now thrives on such opposition and that classroom teachers are awakening to the unprofessional tactics of some organizations which lay loud claims to professionalism.

72 New Locals in One Year

In the field of organizational progress the 1945-46 fiscal year has been the greatest year in the history of the AFT. During the past fiscal year seventy-two new locals and four state federations were established.

In the number of new locals the state of Louisiana ranks first, with sixteen. Colorado is second, with eight new locals, and Pennsylvania third, with seven. Six new locals were chartered in New Jersey, four locals in New York, and four in Michigan. In the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Minnesota three locals were chartered. Two locals were chartered in each of the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, California, and Washington. One local was chartered in each of the states of West Virginia, Maine, Iowa, Nebraska, and Florida. One new local was also chartered in Washington, D.C., and one in Alaska.

More important, however, than the number of locals chartered is the fact that a large number of the locals established this year are strong active unions representing a large percentage of the teachers in the school system.

Louisiana Organizes 16 New Locals In 6 Months

The first new local in Louisiana this year was chartered in the St. Landry Parish under date of December 18. This local already has more than 100 members. Since the St. Landry local was organized 15 additional locals have been chartered and a state federation was organized on March 9th. While this report was being prepared Mr. C. T. Thompson sent in a charter application for the sixteenth local—in Washington Parish. These are not small locals with seven or eight members but large active groups most of which have memberships ranging from 50 to 200. Since the state federation was formed, George Joubert, newly elected president of the state organization, has given valuable assistance in the organization program on a voluntary basis. Both the national organization of the AFT and the Louisiana State Federation of Labor have assisted financially in the campaign—in addition to Mr. Hawbaker's services. In connection with the southern organization drive the state federation of labor has raised \$500.00 to assist in organizing teachers and is planning to secure an additional \$500 from the American Federation of Labor on a matching basis. These funds, together with the funds of the new state federation of teachers, will be used to employ a full-time field representative for several months.

Mr. Hawbaker is to be commended for his excellent work in Louisiana. The organization of sixteen locals, in cooperation with local leadership, in a period of six months (together with many other locals in other parts of the nation), is an outstanding achievement in the field of organizing white collar workers.

8 Locals in 3 Months in Colorado

One of the most interesting developments in AFT history was the organization of eight locals in Colorado in a period of less than three months—from March to June 1946. Previous to March 1946 there were only two locals in Colorado—Pueblo No. 567 and Denver Vocational No. 203. In March 1946 the Denver Federation of Teachers was chartered and the union quickly grew to more than 300 members. A thrilling charter

presentation dinner meeting was held at the Cosmopolitan Hotel in Denver on May 4, 1946, with 250 persons present. The following day an organization conference was held with representatives from several cities and towns of Colorado. On the following Monday a local was organized at Colorado Springs. Within the next month locals were organized at Fort Morgan, Holly, Boulder, Jefferson Parish and Loveland. At the organization meeting in Denver on May 5, a state federation was organized. The state of Colorado, therefore, which had only two locals at the beginning of the year 1946, now has ten locals and a state federation. The enthusiasm for the AFT in Colorado is exceptionally high, the leadership is exceptionally able, and the whole organization program in this western state is one of the most significant developments in the history of our international union. The teachers of Colorado have decided definitely that the beauty of the mountain scenery and the purity of the atmosphere are not adequate compensation for services rendered.

Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey Make Rapid Progress

There has been considerable progress during the past year in the state of Pennsylvania, where seven new locals were chartered. The new local at Bethlehem, No. 846, grew from nine members to 64 members in less than six months. The new vocational local in Pittsburgh, No. 885, had a charter membership of 50 and is growing rapidly. The local at Lewistown, No. 891, started with a membership of 57 in a city of 13,000 population. These splendid results in Pennsylvania are especially gratifying since this state has been one of the most difficult to organize despite exceptionally bad working conditions of the teachers in many parts of the state. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, the State Federation in Pennsylvania plans to have a full-time representative next year.

In the state of New York four locals have been chartered during the past year, three of which are in cities of over 100,000—Utica, Yonkers, and Syracuse. The fourth local was in Mt. Vernon, a city of approximately 65,000.

In New Jersey six new locals were chartered and plans are under way by the state federation for an organization drive during the coming year. The local in Belleville, New Jersey, No. 881, in a city of approximately 30,000, had a charter membership of nearly 50.

Illinois, Ohio Continue Steady Growth

In the state of Illinois three more locals have been chartered during the past year—Decatur, Johnston City, and Kankakee. The field of organization in Illinois is now restricted largely to smaller towns and rural districts since locals have been chartered in all of the cities over 25,000 population with the exception of three. Initial steps have already been taken to establish a local in one of these three cities.

Substantial progress has already been made in organizing the smaller towns of Illinois. There are already several locals in cities of less than 20,000 population. Approximately one-half of the teachers of Illinois—outside of rural districts and villages—are now members of the AFT. If all states in the nation were organized in the same proportion as the state of Illinois, the membership of the AFT would be approximately as large as the NEA—and on a *voluntary* basis without administrative pressure.

[The interesting story, included in Mr. Kuenzli's report, of the achievements of the new Illinois locals in Kankakee, Decatur, and West Frankfort, will be published in later issues of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*, in the "News from the Locals" section.]

Three new locals were chartered in the state of Ohio—Hubbard, Washington Township and Canton, Ohio. In Ohio, as in Illinois, locals have now been established in nearly all of the larger cities and towns of the state. The organization program in Ohio also is restricted largely to smaller towns and rural districts. There are only four remaining cities in which locals have not been chartered.

Indiana Charters Three New Locals

In the state of Indiana also three new locals have been chartered during the past year—Evansville, Indiana University, and Hammond Principals' local. The local at Indiana University, which was chartered in the month of January, is already one of the largest college locals in the AFT. The Hammond Principals' Local was organized under interesting conditions. The Hammond Local, No. 394, had secured a substantial salary increase for classroom teachers only. The principals, therefore, decided to unionize also and organized the first 100% principals and supervisors' local in AFT history.

In Indiana—as in Ohio and Illinois—the field of organizing new locals is becoming restricted

to smaller towns and rural areas since locals already exist in nearly all of the larger cities.

California Is Active Area

The state of California has been one of the most active areas for organization work during the past year although only two new locals were chartered. One of the outstanding developments in the AFT during the past year is the rapid growth of the Los Angeles Local, No. 430. The membership of this local has nearly doubled during the past year and should soon exceed the 1000 mark. In fact, the membership may already be considerably beyond 1000, since per capita payments to the national office lag considerably behind the actual membership of rapidly growing locals. The Sacramento Local, No. 31, is also growing rapidly and has almost doubled its membership during the past year. The Alameda County Local, No. 771, in California, has grown from less than 100 members to nearly 250 during the past year. The Vallejo County Local, No. 827, also has almost doubled its membership during the past year. The Roseville Local, No. 836, has also made substantial gains during the past year.

Minnesota Adds Three New Locals

It is something of a coincidence that three locals were chartered during the past year in the vicinity of St. Paul—the convention city—St. Louis Park, No. 845, South St. Paul, No. 861, and Robbinsdale, No. 872. The St. Louis Park Local was chartered in the month of February and grew to a membership of approximately 75 by the end of the school year. This is excellent progress for a suburban local.

Michigan Makes Further Gains

In the state of Michigan four new locals were chartered during the 1945-46 school year. Local 892 at Van Dyke, Michigan—a city of 10,000—was chartered in June and already has a membership of nearly 100.

The local in Detroit, Michigan, which made such splendid progress last year, has made further gains during the present school year and is now larger than Local 279 in Cleveland, Ohio. During the last two years Cleveland and Detroit have been running a close race for the position of second largest local in the AFT. At the moment the Detroit Local is in the lead. The AFT may well take pride in these two strong successful locals in the great cities of Cleveland and Detroit.

Important Progress in Washington, Connecticut, and Alaska

Two additional locals were chartered in the state of Washington. There are now 13 locals in the state of Washington and the far Northwest constitutes one of the most active areas in the AFT.

One of the most promising areas for organization work during the coming year is the state of Connecticut. Two new locals were chartered in Connecticut near the end of the school year—New Britain, No. 871, and East Haven, No. 909. [A report on these locals will be included in the "News from the Locals" section in later issues of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.]

One of the interesting developments during the past year was the organization of the first AFT local in Alaska. During the month of March, twenty-seven of the thirty-one teachers in Ketchikan, Alaska, signed the application for an AFT charter. Ketchikan, which is known as the salmon center of the world, has a central labor council and is a union-minded town.

Large City Locals Increase Membership

Another outstanding field of progress in the AFT is the substantial growth of locals in larger cities. In addition to the cities previously mentioned a number of other cities have had substantial gains in membership. The Philadelphia Local, No. 3, has had a gain in membership of more than 50%. The Boston Public School Local, No. 66, which was chartered last year, has multiplied its membership nearly seven times during the past year. The Portland, Oregon, Local has had a gain of more than 37%. The Seattle Local,

No. 200, has had a similar gain in membership. The local at Baltimore, Maryland, No. 340, has had a gain of more than 70%. Local 481 in Newark, New Jersey, has experienced a gain of nearly 40%. New Orleans Local 527 has nearly doubled its membership during the past year. Birmingham, Alabama, Local 563, has had a gain of more than 50%. The local at Springfield, Illinois, has more than doubled its membership during the year. The local in Peoria, Illinois, has had an increase of more than 50%. Kansas City, Kansas, Local 800, which has waged an energetic salary fight during the past year, has had an increase of approximately 34%. Local 516 in Jacksonville, Florida (where the AFT restored 40 dismissed teachers to their teaching positions in 1940), also has gained nearly 50%. The local in Elizabeth, New Jersey, has more than doubled its membership. The Louisville, Kentucky, Local has had a gain of more than 50%.

Other Locals Make Outstanding Gains

Outstanding gains have also been made during the past year by the following locals: Chatham County, Georgia, No. 207; University of Wisconsin No. 223; Minneapolis Locals Nos. 59 and 238; Chattanooga No. 246; Hammond, Indiana, No. 394; University of Washington No. 401; Minnesota College Teachers No. 444; Pasadena, Texas, No. 485; East Chicago, Indiana, No. 511; Pueblo, Colorado, No. 567; Indianapolis, Indiana, No. 581; Cornell University No. 608; La Crosse, Wisconsin, No. 652; Medford, Massachusetts, No. 688; Macomb County, Michigan, No. 698; Mansfield, Ohio, No. 703; Cedar Rapids, Iowa, No. 716; Ashland, Ohio, No. 735;



Warren, Ohio, No. 750; Lorain, Ohio, No. 783; Niagara Falls No. 801; Grosse Pointe, Mich., No. 819; Sioux City, Ia., No. 828; and West New York, N.J., No. 833.

State Federations Play Important Role

During the past year more state federations have been organized than during any previous year in AFT history. State organizations were set up in Louisiana and Iowa in March and in Colorado in May. In April a meeting was held in Anaconda, Montana, to organize a state federation. Delegates from all locals in Montana set up a temporary state organization which applied for a charter from the national organization. On July 13, 1946, a similar meeting was held in Louisville, Kentucky, for the purpose of organizing the Kentucky State Federation of Teachers. A functioning state organization was set up and an intensive organization program has been launched. The Kentucky State Federation of Labor, under the guidance of Secretary-Treasurer Edward H. Weyler, has contributed \$1000.00 to the new state federation in Kentucky for organization purposes. A full-time field representative has been employed for at least one year. Mr. Patrick Kirwan, President of the Louisville Local No. 672, has agreed to take a leave of absence for one year to accept this position.

The important value of state federations in the AFT has been amply demonstrated over the last ten years.

During the past year the national organization has subsidized the state federations financially to assist in promoting their organization programs. It is my recommendation that this program of assistance be continued and enlarged during the coming year. State federations are planning far more extensive organization programs than at any time in AFT history.

State federations may play an important role in assisting AFT locals in smaller towns and rural school districts. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, locals have already been organized in nearly all of the larger cities and towns of some states. In these areas the field for organizing new locals consists largely of smaller towns and rural school districts, where the local labor movement is not strong. Strong state federations may assist these groups by serving somewhat in the manner as central labor councils and by securing desirable state legislation. These rural and small town locals, on the other hand,

can exert a powerful influence in securing state legislation. The above facts apply especially in each of the five state federations set up during the past year.

It seems certain that at least seven full-time or part-time field representatives will be available for organization purposes in the state federations during the coming year. The program of these state federations in close cooperation with the national organization, both financially and otherwise, should constitute the largest organization program in the history of the AFT.

Every Soldier a General

The question is often asked: "What is the most valuable asset in organization of teachers?" From my personal experience over a period of years I would say that the enthusiasm of individual members of the AFT is our most valuable asset in organization work. Mr. George Googe, Southern Representative of the AFL, in addressing the AFT convention a few years ago stated: "This is the only army I have ever seen in which every soldier is a general." A classroom teacher will often listen more willingly to a statement of an individual union member about the AFT than to the arguments set forth by a field representative. A large number of the AFT locals have resulted from the fact that some individual member of a local happened to meet a non-union teacher and described the success of his or her local.

Officers and leaders in AFT locals have done especially effective work in carrying the AFT message to non-union teachers. Many leaders in locals have given a great deal of time to organization work for the AFT not only in their own locals but in neighboring cities and towns. Only last month, for instance, Mr. Charles Kincaid, President of St. Louis Local 420, visited Springfield, Missouri, where he addressed the Central Labor Council and passed out AFT literature. During the last week of July, Mr. Kincaid sent in a charter application for a new local at Joplin, Missouri, where the AFT has been cultivating contacts for several months. This is the type of personal service which is very effective in building the AFT. I mention this service by Mr.

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Kincaid—because of its recency—as a typical example of the organization work which has been done during the past year by many outstanding AFT leaders.

Publicity and Public Relations

The distribution of organization pamphlets has reached an all time high in the AFT. Despite paper shortage and difficulty in contracting printing in large quantities, the national office has had more than three hundred thousand pamphlets printed during the past year. This public relations program, furthermore, represents a carefully planned distribution so that comparatively little of the printed material is wasted.

The labor press of America has become one of the most valuable assets for publicizing the AFT program. A large number of publicity bulletins have been sent from the national office to a selected list of labor papers and journals throughout the nation. Editors of these labor



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publications have been very cooperative and the AFT publicity materials have been widely printed in the labor press throughout the nation. In addition to the regular publicity releases from the national office, a large number of labor papers and journals have requested special articles about the AFT program or about other subjects in the field of labor and education.

[Mr. Kuenzli's report included several other important announcements which will be published in later issues of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.]

Report of AFT's Washington Representative

Excerpts from the Convention Address of Miss Selma Borchardt

TODAY, one year after the fighting of the war has ended, we find our country's schools facing the greatest crisis in our history.

Thousands of classrooms are being manned by unqualified, untrained teachers. Thousands of children are being sent to schools not fit for human habitation, to be taught by persons who cannot teach.

Teacher training institutions have but one-fourth of the necessary number of teachers in training. The good teachers who left teaching to do war work are not eager to return. Teacher morale is low. Let's face this frankly. Why?

Salaries are low—disgustingly low. Young trained personnel cannot, and today will not, accept employment at the rate offered to teachers. But even where salaries have gone up, we find teacher shortage. Why? The status of the classroom teacher in the community, the status of the classroom teacher in a school system is actually a very inferior one. The teacher is simply a poorly paid employe with few rights, few privileges and a very limited degree of opportunity to initiate and conduct a program in the interest of his pupils. True, there are many fine sentimental phrases attached to the profession; but actually the place of the classroom teacher

is treated with less and less respect.

At no time in our history was there greater need for affording the classroom teacher in America the greatest possible opportunity and encouragement for giving functional expression to sound democratic ideals in and through our schools. And yet, today, we find the classroom teacher's rights and indeed his highest duties restricted by undemocratic practices clothed in high sounding platitudes.

We are all intimately acquainted with these conditions. We know salary schedules are patterned to emphasize the lesser importance of the teacher, compared with the educational worker who does not teach. We know that except for the labor movement practically every organized group in the community confers with the school *officials*, and not with the *teachers*, to learn what is deemed best for the schools. We know that well qualified teachers are subjected to humiliating rating systems which never improve teaching, but which often help destroy teacher morale. We know that one-half of the teachers in America today still lack any degree of security in and through their jobs—only about half of the teachers are covered by sound tenure and sound pension laws. All this spells low morale.

Yes, salaries must be raised to attract good personnel to the profession. But educational administration must be *actually* democratized to hold good teachers; and the truly great responsibility of the classroom teacher must be recognized in actual practice by the community at the national, state, and local level if teacher morale is to be maintained.

The American Federation of Teachers as the national organization of classroom teachers has the responsibility of making the national government agencies dealing with education realize that, first of all, the classroom teacher is the most important worker in a school system; second, that in all forms and phases of government work the point of view of the classroom teacher must be sought and respected; that teachers speak through a bona fide teacher organization and not through an administrators' group. At present, the classroom teacher is less heeded by official Washington than at any time in the last two decades, at least.

The Congress has been flooded with bills involving broad social principles and specific economic problems. Actually, there are 102 bills before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. These ranged all the way from the Burton-Ball-Hatch Bill and the Case Bill to measures of sound social policy—like the hospital construction bill and the bills for federal aid to education.

In general, this has been an abortive session. Both bad and good bills have been killed. Little legislation was actually enacted. But some progress has been made.

Federal Aid to Education

We are today nearer to federal aid than we have been in a long time. And many of the principles for which we have been fighting for many years have now been taken over by our opponents as their own.

Inasmuch as we have already begun to see many of our erstwhile opposed proposals now being far more generally accepted, while others are raising a number of serious questions, it is well that these issues be restated here now:

I. The rights of minority groups must be protected. It is important to observe that the American Federation of Teachers was the first nationwide educational organization to demand that an assurance be written into the law to provide that minority races in states maintaining separate schools should receive their per capita share of

any federal funds appropriated to aid education.

II. Education implies vastly more than formal schooling. The Federation also led the fight to recognize the fact, in granting federal funds for education, that education should be recognized as not limited to formal schooling, but that consideration should be given to all the factors and forces which contribute to the development of a person in our complex society, that training on the farm, on the job, in the home, in the factory, or wherever it is done, is a vitally essential form of education; that adult education is essential in a functional democracy.

III. The well-being of the individual child is the concern of the federal government. The Federation led the fight in urging that while the federal government must help the states maintain good free public schools it must also afford *every* child those services through which his health, welfare and social well-being as well as his mental capacities are best developed. In addition, the Federation recognized the urgency of meeting the needs of the individual child and youth and proposed a program through which every boy and girl, every youth may be assured an opportunity to remain in school.

IV. Sound administrative safeguards are essential in any truly social program. The Federation, knowing full well the need of sound administrative safeguards in relation to such proposals, urged that such safeguards be written into the law itself. These safeguards included:

a. An absolute guarantee against any form of federal control over processes of education: curricula content, teaching personnel, textbooks, methods of teaching.

b. A provision protecting the rights of minority races.

c. A provision that the state and its political subdivisions be required to maintain at least their present appropriations as a condition for getting further appropriations, so that federal funds should supplement and not supplant state and local funds for education.

d. A provision requiring the states and their sub-divisions to meet at least a bare minimum appropriation from state and local funds to which to add the federal funds.

e. A requirement that 75% of the total federal appropriation be set aside for teachers' salaries.

f. A requirement that the funds should be allocated among the several states on a basis of relative need.

g. A requirement that federal funds be made

available for every part of the state in need thereof.

h. A requirement that the state receiving federal funds be required to publish its plans for the use of such funds before the funds are expended, and, further, publish a report later on how these funds have been expended.

i. A provision for a federal audit of federal funds.

We have fought for these principles. We have been attacked for the fight we have made. But it is significant to note that the majority of the principles for which we have fought have already been taken over by the very groups that fought us for proposing them.

In 1944 the American Federation of Labor adopted a program for federal aid, which embodied the principles above set forth, and recommended that legislation be sought to implement them.

Accordingly, legislation was prepared, embodying these principles and at the request of the American Federation of Labor S. 717 was introduced into Congress by Senator James Mead and Senator George Aiken.

Immediately after this bill had been introduced in Congress certain organizations and individuals launched an intensive campaign against this bill because it would make some aid available for children in the sectarian schools as well as those in the nation's public schools. The nature of the attack was so vicious that it cannot be ignored. The hearings revealed that some of the opponents stated that a particular church was instituted to promote crime and to produce criminals. Other opponents claimed that this bill was a sinister move on the part of the American Federation of Labor to unite church and state; still others pointed out that this was a move to destroy the public schools of the United States. The bigotry of that campaign was alarming.

It was stated that the granting of federal funds to aid children in the non-public schools would break down the established American tradition of complete separation of church and state.

Separation of Church and State

This is a tradition which we all revere and the breach of which no good American would tolerate. The question is not, therefore, if we wish to violate this tradition—for emphatically we do not—but whether the granting of federal funds for education in the non-public schools does violate this tradition.

Federal Aid to Sectarian Institutions

The facts are: The practice of our federal government giving aid to schools, hospitals and other non-profit institutions which are under the control of churches of every denomination is as old as the country itself. It is a practice which has been operating since 1785, when the Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory was adopted by the Continental Congress, which provided that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." Then in granting powers for distribution of the land, it was stipulated that Lot 16 in each township be given perpetually for the use of schools and Lot 29, "for purposes of religion." Since then, many acts have been adopted expressly giving federal funds to sectarian schools.

Among the forms most familiar to us—forms which we have repeatedly endorsed—are the N.Y.A., the W.P.A., the Nursery Schools. One of the most recent and the most far-reaching examples is the G.I. Bill. Federal funds are made available for tuition and for upkeep in sectarian as well as non-sectarian schools in the G.I. Act, which was unanimously adopted by the United States Congress. The G.I. Act (Public Law 346, Chapter III, Sec. 301, Par. 4) authorizes the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to name any institution at any educational level (sectarian or non-sectarian) which has approved educational standards, as eligible to receive federal funds for tuition and upkeep of the veteran as well as those institutions which are named by the educational authority in each state.

Court Rulings on Constitutionality

It was stated that the granting of federal funds for education through sectarian schools is unconstitutional. The fact is that every decision of the United States Supreme Court on this subject has upheld this procedure as constitutional. The first legal test of this issue came about a hundred years ago when the State of Indiana questioned the legal propriety of such federal grants to sectarian institutions. The United States Supreme Court sustained the right of the federal government to make such grants, and denied the State the right to interfere (*Board of Trustees of Vincennes University v. State Board of Education of Indiana* 14 Howard 268).

Since then many other similar decisions have been rendered, one of the more recent ones being the ruling in the Louisiana Textbook Case (*Cochran v. La. St. Bd. of Ed.* 281 U.S. 370), in which Mr. Justice Hughes in rendering the Court's decision pointed out that the use of public funds for the purchase of textbooks for use in non-public sectarian schools as well as in the public schools is constitutional, and is in the public interest.

Perhaps the best statement of the philosophy involved in the legal aspects of this question is contained in a decision rendered by the Supreme Court of Mississippi in 1941. In this case, in upholding the legal propriety of the State of Mississippi to grant funds for textbooks and supplies for children in the sectarian schools, the Court states:

"Freedom of conscience was one of the blessings of liberty sought to be secured by constitutional separation of church and state. These principles are historical and fundamental. Yet it is quite true that while liberty is to be maintained at the price of eternal vigilance, such vigilance should include within its scope the common welfare of those who have the right to view educational opportunity as one of the blessings of liberty. It is the control of one over the other that our constitution forbids. The recognition by each of the isolation and influence of the other remains as one of the duties and liberties respectively of the individual citizen. . . . The constitutional barrier which protects each against invasion by the other must not be so high that the state in discharging its obligations as *parens patriae* cannot surmount distinctions. . . . The state is under duty to ignore the child's creed but not its need."

Hence it is an established fact that the practice historically, in this country, has been to make federal grants to sectarian institutions for educational purposes, and the courts have upheld these practices.

AFL's Analysis of Policy On Aid to Non-public Schools

The question then, is not one of tradition, or of law, but of policy. This policy was analyzed by the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education as follows:

"A consideration of this policy involves a number of principles:

1. Will the further development of sectarian schools create a more divisive community?
2. Has a special group of citizens concerned with the common good of such special group the right to a special share of public funds to protect and promote its special interests?
3. What factors are involved in the right of a parent

or group to establish and maintain a form of training through which to preserve principles of conscience?

4. What is the scope of authority of the state on this question?

5. Upon what basis must the question of public-private sectarian activities be approached?

It has already been pointed out that these questions insofar as they affect the federal government are primarily questions of policy and not of law. It is therefore in the light of public policy that the Federation will approach the question.

The first question to be explored is: Will the further development of sectarian schools create a more divisive society? If so, they may well be held to do more harm than good. We are one nation, and we wish our people to be united. But this unity must not be such as to destroy the rights of minorities. We all desire unity but not uniformity. Cohesion is essential, but regimentation is devastating. We cannot and we would not choose as a nation to compel all persons to act in keeping with a single pattern. Ours is a cohesive functional society, but a society in which the point of view of all minorities should be respected and afforded full opportunity of expression.

There is a minority group today that holds that in conformity with the religious concepts of their faith a form of sectarian instruction must be given with other educational training as an integral part of the education of children. The right of this minority group to its convictions must be zealously safeguarded. Not only to protect the rights of the minority, but actually to promote the unity of a functional democracy must we preserve the means through which minority viewpoints are expressed. A people are not more closely united if they are compelled through legal or economic pressures to accept a pattern of conduct if such acceptance would violate the tenets of conscience of the group. On the other hand, there can be no justification in law or in policy for subsidizing a purely private project simply because it serves to promote the good and worthy religious devotion of a particular group. To pay public funds to a religious organization for its maintenance would violate the fundamental principles and practices to which we as a nation are committed.

"In view of the fact that a large portion of the instructors in the sectarian schools have taken a vow of poverty and that, therefore, what they are paid belongs not to them but to the religious organization to which they adhere, a direct payment to them for their services would in effect, therefore, be a direct payment to a religious organization. Such a practice cannot be condoned.

On the other hand, the child in these schools has the right to attend them. And that right, as has already been pointed out, involves not only a legal permission but a legal assurance that the right shall be enjoyed.

In order to maintain educational standards and at the same time to preserve complete separation of church and state in a traditional American manner, the American Federation of Labor urged that the following safeguards should be written into any legislation on the subject:

A. Any institution which benefits from federal funds so received must maintain educational standards of the state in which the institution is located.

B. No federal funds shall be used to pay the salaries of teaching personnel in sectarian educational institutions for in these sectarian institutions the teaching personnel are often members of religious orders or organizations and do not themselves receive pay; hence, payment to them would be a payment to their respective religious orders or organizations.

Acceptance of Many AFT Principles

The House Committee on Education accept most of our major points; of particular interest being the fact that the House Committee accepted, in principle, our recommendation for earmarking a major portion of the funds for teachers' salaries.

In the Senate, the Committee redrafted S. 181 and included many of our recommendations, the most important being that it required the state and its political subdivisions to maintain at least its present educational budget, so that federal funds would supplement and not supplant state funds. Furthermore, it should be noted that it sets a base of \$40 as the minimum which every state must appropriate for the education of every child in the state.

The earmarking of funds for teachers' salaries is of far greater importance than some may realize when we view this point in light of a recent Supreme Court decision holding that if money is provided from federal funds for a state for several purposes and the state uses all the money for any one purpose then the state is discharging its duties (King County Washington v. Seattle School Board District 263 U.S. 361). Hence, unless a portion of the funds are expressly marked for teachers' salaries, not one cent need be used for this purpose.

However, as we focus on the technical aspects of the proposal for federal aid we must keep before us even more clearly the purpose of the program: to develop a sound, broad, truly social educational program which shall benefit each person in our country, and therefore benefit all.

This means we must make sure that the program will be broad in its concepts, and adequate in the funds allowed it for its operation. Our bill before the last Congress was the first bill ever before the American people which specifically recognized the need of a well rounded broad program, and which asked for more nearly adequate funds with which to conduct it.

We may pride ourselves that we have pointed

the way to the greatest bill for an educational program for our nation that has ever been before the American people.

Introduction of New Federal Aid Bill

On July 31, 1946, Senators Murray, Pepper and Morse jointly sponsored S. 2499. It is to be expected that Senator George Aiken, one of the sponsors of our original bill, will join in sponsoring this new bill in the next Congress. His absence from the Senate at the time of the introduction of this bill has prevented his name from being on the bill this time. Senator James Mead, another sponsor of our original bill, will not be a candidate for re-election to the Senate, and hence did not sponsor a bill to be before the next Congress, even though he heartily supports the proposals in the new bill, which further develops our original proposals.

Analysis of Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill

This bill assumes that the federal government must contribute a large share not only to improve education, but to maintain it. It is frankly not only an aid bill, but a basic support bill. It does, however, also expressly recognize the need of having the states themselves contribute more adequately to their own educational program. Funds are to be distributed among the various states in accordance with an index of financial need of the states, the poorer states getting as much as \$40.00 per child, and the richer states correspondingly less, down to \$10.00 per child. However, every state, in order to qualify for the entire amount of its grant, must maintain a certain level of educational expenditures, based on its potential capacity to raise such revenue. This provision is of the greatest possible importance when we recognize the great differences among the states in tax rates, and in tax laws, in general. In this manner this bill is one of the first sound steps toward integrating federal and state tax provisions.

A principle which we recommended four years ago should be recognized in any federal aid bill. Again we have pointed the course. The bill also would have federal aid *supplement, not supplant* state and intra-state support of education. It is well to remember that when your representative first fought for this principle, the NEA, either because it could not understand the vital importance of such a provision, or because it was more intent upon attacking us than it was

upon supporting a sound educational program, sent out a vicious blast of personal attack. Their attacks confused the issue, delayed the aid, but did not destroy the validity of the principle. The principle is now accepted by all.

The new bill, like the original S. 717, sets forth definite standards which the states must meet in order to qualify for federal aid—standards which the NEA in all its bills has seen fit to omit. The most important of these are:

(1) The states must within 3 years pay no teacher less than \$1,500 a year, and later raise this minimum to \$2,000.

(2) Educational opportunities must be equalized within the state, in relation to farm-city areas, within 5 years.

(3) Equalization of educational opportunities for all racial groups must be effected within 5 years.

(4) Teachers must be employed on a merit basis (not as personnel of political patronage).

(5) School buildings and equipment must be safe and sanitary.

(6) A compulsory school year of not less than 180 days must be established.

(7) Compulsory school attendance must be established for all children from 6 to 16 years.

(8) Textbooks and all school services other than instructional services must be available to all children in all schools free of charge.

(9) The state must give evidence in its plans that it is *actively* at work improving its educational services.

(10) A federal audit of federal funds is required.

As yet the bill does not have our requirement that not less than 75% of the funds appropriated must be used for teachers' salaries. I say "as yet," for Senator Murray has asked those of us whom he consulted in the preparation of this bill to submit additional suggestions, and, in view of the fact that in his statement on federal aid—a statement signed also by Senators Aiken, Morse and Walsh—there is strongly urged the earmarking of the major portion of the funds for teachers' salaries, it is to be expected that the redraft of the bill which will be before the new Congress will contain this provision.

Then there is also the issue of federal aid for the non-public schools. I wish to be absolutely frank on this issue. The history and tradition and policy of this issue have already been set

forth. This new bill does give aid for *all children*. It does *not*, however, give funds for *instructional* purposes for children in the *non-public* schools.

We have put the issue before you. This convention must decide this issue.

This new bill, as did S. 717, provides for an advisory lay board. However, while S. 717 provided that this advisory committee should be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, the new bill provides that the advisory committee must be appointed by the Supreme Court. Like S. 717, it provides for distribution of federal funds on a basis of relative need, but unlike S. 717 it does contain a definite formula for this distribution. It uses the formula contained in the hospital aid bill, which has just become law.

This great new bill is, I believe, a magnificent logical "next step" to S. 717. It contains the fine broad principles enunciated in S. 717 and carries them into an enlarged ten-year program.

This new bill is the greatest educational proposal ever put before our nation. It merits our whole-hearted active support.

We are much nearer to federal aid for education than we have been for a long time, for today most of the principles for which we have been fighting have been adopted by those who fought us for holding these principles.

It is to be hoped that the plea so earnestly made two years ago by President Landis for united action among all groups for federal aid will now be heeded, so that this highly important piece of legislation will be passed.

[See pages 34 to 36 for a summary of the bill.]

EDITOR'S NOTE: The remainder of Miss Borchardt's report dealt with vocational education, exemption of teachers' retirement pay from the federal income tax, the school lunch bill, federal-state relations in granting aid to the states, Lanham Act funds, Mead college construction bills, equal pay for equal work, atomic energy, compulsory military training, the hospital bill, social security, the Full Employment Act, the reorganization of Congress, OPA, and international relations.

Some of Miss Borchardt's recommendations were later carried out by convention action. Others were reflected in recommendations made by convention committees and in action taken at the post-convention meeting of the AFT Executive Council.



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Summary of the Education Development Act

The Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, S.2499

THE Education Development Act provides for a ten-year program of federal aid to education.

This program is based on a declaration of policy aimed at achieving throughout the United States educational systems which offer full opportunities for the development of individual capacities and which afford "equality of opportunity to all without regard to sex, race color, or creed."

The policy declaration clearly recognizes that education is a state responsibility. The role of the federal government is to aid and to stimulate the states in discharging their responsibilities.

The basic provisions of the bill are as follows:

I Equalization of Basic Educational Programs (Title I)

For the fiscal year of 1948, \$500,000,000 is authorized to help the states equalize opportunities in the following fields: pre-elementary education, elementary education, secondary education, including non-collegiate vocational education, higher education, adult education and community recreation, special education of physically handicapped children and youth, health and physical education, and public library services, especially in rural areas.

This sum is to increase gradually every year until, in the tenth year, it amounts to \$1,000,000,000.

Funds are to be distributed among the various states in accordance with an index of financial need for each state. The poorer states may receive as much as \$40.00 a child; the more well-to-do states may receive as little as \$10.00 a child.

In order to qualify for the entire amount of its grant, each state must also maintain a certain level of educational expenditures from its own funds (computed as a percentage of income payments within a state). The purpose of this is to assure that federal aid will *supplement*, rather than *take the place of* state support of education.

II Scholarships and Fellowships (Title II)

For the fiscal year of 1948, \$70,000,000 is authorized to aid the states "to enable young

persons of ability to continue their education in the last two years of high school and higher educational institutions by means of the award of scholarships and fellowships." This sum is to increase until it reaches \$350,000,000 in the tenth year.

The states are to "provide a method of identifying students of ability . . . without reference to race, color, sex, or religion."

The funds authorized at the maximum level could annually finance 250,000 young people to finish high school, 400,000 to attend college, and 75,000 to engage in post-graduate or professional study.

III Planning and Construction of Educational Facilities (Title III)

\$200,000,000 is authorized for the fiscal year of 1948 to aid the states in (a) making surveys of the needs for educational plant facilities, (b) preparing drawings and specifications for such facilities, and (c) acquiring, constructing or improving such facilities. This sum rises to \$400,000,000 by the third year.

These funds are to be distributed among the states in such a manner as to provide more funds per capita for the poorer states. The allocation formula is the same one used in the recent Senate bill on federal aid for hospital construction.

The states must also match federal funds in accordance with their financial capacity. Every state, no matter how poor, must put up at least \$1.00 for every \$3.00 in federal funds. The maximum amount of state matching is \$2.00 for every \$1.00 of federal funds.

The state plans must "provide that educational plant facilities will be made available to all persons residing in a given territorial area without discrimination." Where separate school facilities are provided for separate population groups, "equitable provisions shall be made for educational plant facilities of like quality for each such group on the basis of need."

IV Camping Programs for Children and Youth (Title IV)

The sum of \$25,000,000 is authorized for the fiscal year of 1948 to assist the states in "providing camping programs for children and youth

in public parks and forests." This sum is to increase to \$125,000,000 in the tenth year.

These funds are to be distributed among the states in accordance with the urban child population.

V Administration (Titles V and VI)

A. STATE CONTROL (SEC. 501)

It is provided that no federal agency or official shall "exercise any supervision or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school, school system, or educational institution."

B. U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION (SEC. 502)

The U.S. Commissioner of Education is authorized to administer the federal aid provisions of the Act and to have audits made on expenditures under the Act. He is also given an initial authorization of \$10,000,000 for educational research to be conducted either directly by the Office of Education or by contract with other agencies, particularly colleges, universities, and research institutions. He is also to submit a full annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act.

C. NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL (SEC. 502)

A National Advisory Council is established, composed of 9 citizens to be appointed by the President, with the Commissioner serving as Chairman. The Commissioner must consult with this Council on all matters of major policy or program.

D. NATIONAL STANDARDS (SEC. 504)

In order to qualify for receiving funds under

this Act, a state is expected to live up to standards clearly set forth in the Act.

Certain general standards relate to the administration of the funds, state audits, the submission of reports to the Commissioner and the availability of funds to all state-approved educational agencies needing assistance.

With regard to other educational objectives, it is recognized that the raising of standards has to be on a step by step basis. The following goals are set for the period after the program has been in operation for 3 years: (1) public school teachers to be paid no less than \$1500 a year; (2) a plan to be in effect aiming at equal educational opportunities in farm areas within 5 years; (3) a plan to be in effect aiming at equal educational opportunities for all racial groups within 5 years; (4) employment of teachers on a merit basis; (5) school buildings and other equipment to be safe and sanitary; (6) books to be provided without charge; (7) non-instructional public services to be available to children in all schools; (8) compulsory school year of no less than 180 days a year for children from 6 to 16 years of age; (9) a 10-year program for the improvement of educational services throughout the state to be "actively and progressively under development."

Any state can bring an appeal to the National Board of Appeals respecting inability to meet any of these standards; and the Board has the power to grant exceptions.

The following goals are set for the period after the program has been in operation for 8 years: (1) public school teachers to be paid no less

SUMMARY OF AUTHORIZATIONS

I Basic Educational Programs and Services	\$500 million rising to \$1000 million yearly
II Scholarships and Fellowships	70 million rising to 350 million yearly
III Planning and Construction of Educational Facilities	200 million rising to 400 million yearly
IV Camping Programs for Children and Youth	25 million rising to 125 million yearly
V Program Development, Administration and Research	10 million rising to 25 million yearly

\$805 million rising to \$1900 million yearly



Delegates Listening Intently to Discussion of Federal Aid Principles

than \$2,000 a year; (2) equal educational opportunities in farm areas, and (3) equal educational opportunities for all racial groups. With respect to these standards, also, any state may win an exception by carrying a successful appeal to the National Board of Appeals.

E. NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS (SEC. 506)

A National Board of Appeals is to be set up, composed of 3 members appointed by the U. S. Supreme Court. This Board shall hear appeals from state agencies respecting inability to meet any of the national standards and against the withholding of funds from any state. The Board is given power to grant exceptions and set aside actions by the Commissioner.

Fiscal Policy Aspects

Major proposed legislation of this character should be measured in terms of its impact on the entire national economy. The effect of the bill on expenditures for education in the fiscal year 1948 and for ten years thereafter is indicated by the table on page 35. At present, such expenditures, local, state, federal, and institutional, amount to about 3.2 percent of the national income. This percentage would probably rise to 3.6 percent as soon as the proposal is in effect, and by 1947 would rise to 4 percent of the estimated national income at a full employment level.

Such a program would undoubtedly have a most favorable effect upon productivity and

the national income both immediately and in subsequent years.

Federal Aid Principles Adopted by Convention

General Recommendations

1) Federal aid for education is essential to the welfare and security of the nation, and every effort must be made to unite the social forces of the nation to secure funds for this purpose.

2) Education is primarily a state responsibility, and its operation and management must be explicitly reserved to the states. The conditions under which federal funds are made available to the states must not be permitted to endanger the state's control of its educational program.

Basis of Apportionment

1) The basis of apportionment shall be need.

2) If the total sum is adequate, a minimum amount may be used for support.

3) The scale of appropriations shall be gradually increased.

4) The basis of apportionment according to need shall be objective and not too complicated for general understanding.

5) Federal funds must be available for every part of the state in need thereof.

Administration of Funds

1) Federal funds for education shall be administered through the U.S. Office of Education.

2) Funds allocated to the states shall be disbursed through state departments of education.

3) States shall be required to publish plans for expenditure of federal funds before such funds can be granted, and after their expenditure.

4) Complete and definite annual audits shall be made

by the federal government of all federal funds distributed to the states.

Minorities

- 1) The full protection of the rights and privileges of minorities must be guaranteed.
- 2) Each state shall be required to appropriate a fixed minimum sum for the education of every child in that state, regardless of minority status.

Setting of Specific Goals

- 1) Specific goals shall be set as appropriations increase, including minimum wages for teachers and equality of educational opportunity for minority groups and for rural youth.
- 2) Federal aid shall be allocated only to states which meet such goals.

Instructional Aid

- 1) The sum asked for should be adequate to the needs of the nation. The total asked for in S. 2499, the Murray-Morse-Pepper Bill, more nearly approaches the amount needed than does the total in any other proposals to date.
- 2) A national minimum wage for teachers shall be set at \$2,000, to be reached by gradual but definite steps.
- 3) A proportion of the total shall be earmarked for salaries.
- 4) Aid shall be sufficient to provide a minimum of 180 school days annually.
- 5) There shall be aid for all levels of education, from nursery school through graduate work at universities, including adult education.
- 6) There shall be compulsory education for children between the ages of 6 and 16.

Services to Children

- 1) Appropriations shall be made for health services, including vacation programs.
- 2) Appropriations shall be made for aid to needy children.
- 3) Appropriations shall be made for fellowships and scholarships to enable the able to continue their education.
- 4) Appropriations shall be made for libraries, text books, visual aids, and transportation.

Non-Instructional Services of Schools

- 1) Appropriations shall be made for maintenance and operation, business administration, and buildings.

Educational Research

- 1) Funds shall be set aside for research on nationwide problems of education through the U.S. Office of Education.

Aid for Non-Public Schools

- 1) Federal funds for *services to children* should be provided, for administration by *state-approved non-public* educational agencies as well as by *public* agencies.
- 2) Federal funds should be available to state-approved non-public schools for *non-instructional* purposes.
- 3) In future legislation there should be further clarification of what is meant by "instructional" and non-instructional" services.

Anti-Labor Legislation

The convention adopted the following resolution on anti-labor legislation:

- 1) That the AFT be especially vigilant in continuing its opposition to all labor baiting anti-union and anti-social legislation.
- 2) That the 29th annual convention of the AFT go on record as approving the action of the Executive Council in opposing such legislation in the interim between conventions, and instruct the Executive Council to continue active opposition to anti-labor legislation and to conduct an educational program to arouse the country to the dangers of such legislation.

Convention Action On International Relations

On the subject of international relations the convention concurred in the following section of the Executive Council's report to the convention:

In the field of international relations we call attention to the importance of: (1) machinery to build and maintain the peace, and (2) education for world citizenship.

There is need for critical evaluation of the structure and the program of functional international organizations, both governmental and voluntary. The AFT as an observer accredited to the United Nations, has the responsibility of evolving a program whereby means may be found through which teachers may be informed about the United Nations and its specialized organizations such as UNESCO.

The AFT, as a member of the World Federation of Education Associations, has the responsibility with the teacher organizations in other nations to develop a plan for uniting the three existing world organizations of teachers: The World Federation of Education Associations, the International Federation of Teacher Associations and the International Federation of Associations of Secondary Teachers. The AFT is called upon to assist in developing a social and economic program of free teachers organizations and also to promote cooperation between this voluntary body and UNESCO.

The Council notes the need for a program of education for world citizenship. While a beginning has been made in teacher exchange and teacher training, a vastly expanded program is now called for.

This convention may well explore the possibilities of holding institutes on world problems.

The following recommendations, presented by the convention committee on international relations, were also adopted:

- 1) That we urge that each local comply with the requests of previous convention reports that were adopted, wherein the locals were requested to establish committees on international relations and conduct at least one program on international relations and intercultural relations, in order that the labors for peace may be made more secure.

2) That we send communications to the various teachers' colleges and teacher training schools in the U.S. in cooperation with the locals and ask them to establish intensive short courses and extensive courses for teachers which may enable them to better understand the structures and functions of international organizations and the program of intercultural education.

3) That we recommend to the locals of the AFT that they cooperate with labor and other civic groups in their communities for the further study of international affairs and intercultural relations.

4) That we secure information and materials of the international associations of education associations with which we have cooperated and send packets to the locals to assist them in programs.

5) That we request the locals of the AFT to submit suggestions regarding the development of free teacher organizations and methods of promoting cooperation between the world-wide voluntary body and UNESCO.

6) That we request the Executive Council to investigate the possibilities of a plan whereby AFT members can make direct grants of relief to our colleagues in need in other countries and secure information on the possibilities of exchanges of teachers and educational materials on methods and practices of teaching in other schools.

7) That the delegates of the AFT to the next convention of the AFL call upon the AFL to protest to the President of the United States and to the Department of State against the discriminations against the AFT such as have been practiced during recent months and as reported by our legislative representative on pages 17 and 18 of her report to the convention, and that we further urge the locals to make direct protests to the President of the United States and to the Congressmen of their state.

Should Teachers Strike?

The AMERICAN TEACHER invites AFT members to contribute articles or letters expressing opinions concerning whether or not the AFT should modify the non-strike policy which it has thus far maintained. Although it will probably be impossible to publish all such contributions, an effort will be made to present a cross-section of the various viewpoints of our members on this important question.

By action of the convention, the AFT Executive Council was instructed to "reexamine the non-strike policy of the American Federation of Teachers and to arrange for a full discussion in the AMERICAN TEACHER of the possibilities of a strike technique as a means of arousing the American public to an appreciation of the desperate needs of its children."

Improvement of Human Relations

In accordance with the recommendations of the committee on cultural minorities, the convention adopted the following resolutions concerning the improvement of human relations:

RESOLVED, That the AFT and its affiliated unions support the following measures:

1) A conference called by the Executive Council of the AFT in October or November, 1946, for the specific purpose of working out an AFT national program on human relations.

2) A campaign supporting a permanent national FEPC.

3) A national and local program to support strict enforcement of the Constitution, particularly the Bill of Rights and the 14th amendment; and to recommend the removal from office of federal officials who violate their oaths to uphold the Constitution.

4) A campaign to secure from the U.S. Office of Education a nation-wide drive, such as was carried on through the schools during the war years for the teaching of the full implications of the democratic concept and for the practicing of these in everyday life, to the end that tensions in human relations, particularly racial and religious tensions, be eliminated.

* * * *

Whereas, The AFT is strongly committed to the democratic way of life, which guarantees equal educational opportunity to all children; and

Whereas, The existence and extension of slum and ghetto conditions in both urban and rural communities abridge or deny the democratic privilege to millions of children; and

Whereas, The existence and extension of slums and ghettos create a fertile soil for the ugly growth of religious and racial conflicts, thus undermining the national unity necessary to preserve our democratic way of life; and

Whereas, The angry and aggressive attitudes, the outgrowth of under-privileged and restrictive living, are a mental and physical health hazard of grave national proportions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the locals of the AFT not only study their local housing situations, but take active part in the improvement of housing for the lower income groups and the removal of barriers which tend toward restricted living, by cooperating with the local branches of the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) and the National Public Housing Conference; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFT gather from its locals and other sources devices developed for removing social conflicts such as:

1) The use of consulting experts and practitioners in the fields of psychology, anthropology, sociology, and human relations.

2) The holding of conferences in cooperation with other groups such as Mayors' and Governors' committees on unity, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American Council on Race Relations, the Bureau for Intercultural Education, the American Labor Educational Service, etc.

3) The study of tension points, their adjustment and treatment through the clinical method.

4) The changes in the school curriculum looking to the improvement of human relations; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That the AFT not only gather facts about these devices, but through the magazine, special bulletins, and a summary report to be submitted by the Committee on Cultural Minorities at the next convention, encourage its locals to greater and greater use of these devices to improve human relations.

* * * *

RESOLVED, That the AFT, during 1946-47, set up local conferences and workshops in human relations and school-community relations for the training of teachers, group workers, and community leaders in techniques of community cooperation.

* * * *

RESOLVED, That the AFT: 1) condemn racial segregation in school systems as a violation of the democratic pattern; 2) urge upon all locals in cooperation with local central trades that they request their school officials to set up committees on intercultural education and provide

all types of intercultural materials to be systematically integrated into every level and phase of the curriculum.

QUOTAS

Whereas, One of the crying needs of our time is the extension of higher education to include a maximal number of our population; and

Whereas, Racial and religious quotas in our institutions of higher education actively militate against this extension of education; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFT embark on a national program to assist in removing such quotas and restrictions from institutions of higher education, particularly those institutions which are tax-exempt.

MORAL REARMAMENT

Charging that the Moral Rearmament movement has been sympathetic with Fascist principles and that it seeks to substitute blind faith for reason and action in solving the world's problems, the convention called upon its member locals to exercise vigilance in keeping the movement out of the public schools.



Above: THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS
Below: The COMMITTEE ON WORKING CONDITIONS

Homework pause



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